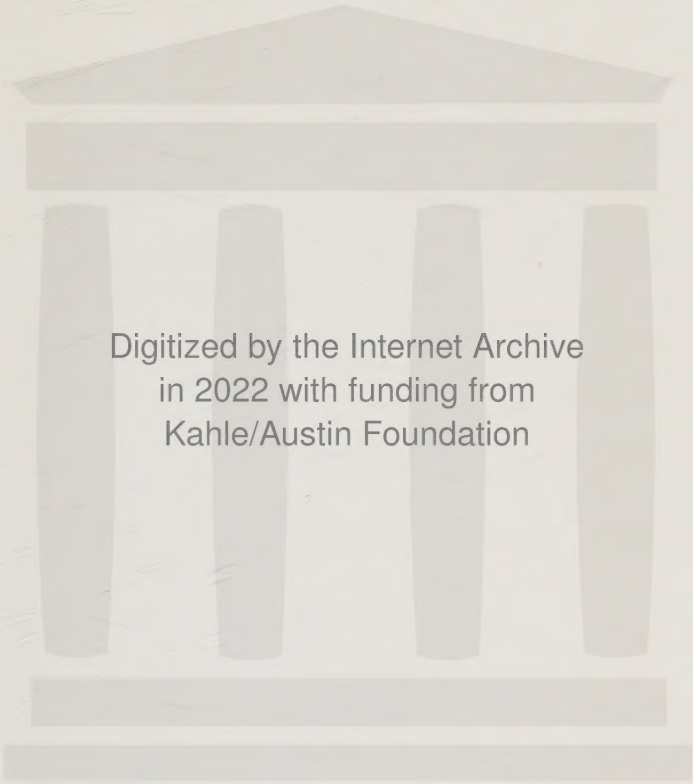
ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED

74.2
t9m
.1,pt.1
624048

basement

REFERENCE

ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation

https://archive.org/details/memorialsofthoma0001john

WORKS V. 6

MEMORIALS

OF THE

Most Reverend Father in God

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

WHEREIN

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH,

AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCHBISHOP,

Are greatly illustrated;

And many singular Matters relating thereunto, now first published (1694.)

In Three Books.

COLLECTED CHIEFLY FROM RECORDS, REGISTERS, AUTHENTIC LETTERS, AND OTHER ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

By JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

V. 1, pt. 1

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXII.

1624048

MEMORIALS

OF THE

Most Reverend Father in God

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this Edition of the "Memorials of Archbishop "Cranmer" such of the Documents in the Appendix as were printed by Mr. Strype from papers in the Cotton Library have been carefully corrected from the original MSS. in the British Museum. This useful service was undertaken by Mr. Henry Ellis, who supplied an entire copy of No. VIII. distinguishing the corrections and additions which appear in the original Proclamation in the handwriting of King Henry the Eighth; together with a transcript of a considerable portion of "Car- "dinal Pole's Instructions for his Messenger to the "Queen," No. LXXV, the conclusion of which was omitted in the first Edition, but is now printed among the Addenda.

For the other Additions which the reader will find at the end of the second volume, the public is indebted to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. A list of all the Articles in that valuable Collection relating to Abp. Cranmer was in a most obliging manner supplied, for the use of the present publication, from the Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal MSS.

prepared for the Press by direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, with His Grace's permission, it is here subjoined, under the title of Addenda No. I, for the information of future inquirers.

To the publication also of the very curious Document which forms No. II. of the Addenda, His Grace most liberally consented. Of the history of this MS. and its particular value, as an addition to Mr. Strype's Memorials, the Reader will be best informed from the account transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Todd, Keeper of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts, who is not more distinguished by his extensive erudition, than by his readiness at all times to assist the researches of others.

"The MS. is marked in the Catalogue of the "Lambeth MSS. 1136. (vid. Addenda No. I.) and "entitled "Processus contra Cranmerum Cantuar. "Archiepiscopum. A. D. 1555." It is written on "thirty-six pages of parchment of a folio size, with "many contractions, and was presented to the Li- "brary by Mr. George Perry, F. S. A. July 23, "1766. It contains a copy of the official dis- "patch of * Dr. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, to "the Cardinal de Puteo at Rome, to whom the Bi-

* James Brokes, born in Hampshire May 1512, was Scholar and Fellow of C. C. C. Oxford, afterward Master of Balliol College, Chaplain or Almoner to Bp. Gardner, and Bishop of Glocester, 1554. He died Feb. 15$\frac{5}{6}$. *Wood's Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 134.

" shop was Subdelegate in the proceedings against " Abp. Cranmer, (the care of which had been con- " signed to the Cardinal by the Pope,) and is au- " thenticated in the usual manner by notarial at- " testation. The Document fortunately supplies also " what has hitherto been a chasm in our ecclesiasti- " cal history. For Mr. Strype, after noticing that " witnesses were sworn to deliver their testimony " against the Archbishop, adds, 'I know not what " the depositions of these witnesses were, given in " against him the next day; for Fox relates nothing " of them, nor any other as I know of.' Memorials " of Abp. Cranmer, book iii. chap. xix. These depo- " sitions are found in this Processus."

To the same learned person great acknowledgments are also due for his further assistance in bringing this Document to light, not only by furnishing a transcript for the press, but by comparing with the Lambeth Manuscript the printed sheets of the " Processus," as well as the Fac-Simile engraving which is given as a specimen of the writing.

JANUARY 2, 1812.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,

BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

Primate of all England, and Metropolitan;

AND

ONE OF THEIR MAJESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

TO pardon the preſumption of the obſcure perſon that dedicates this book to your Grace, for the ſake of the renowned man it treats of, *viz.* one of your illuſtrious predeceſſors, an Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that hath deſerved ſo eminently of that ſee, nay, and of the whole Britiſh Church; I may ſay, that deſerved beſt of any Archbiſhop before him, that wore that mitre: to whoſe ſolid learning, deliberation, and indefatigable pains, both the Kings and people of this realm owe their deliverance from the long and cruel bondage of Rome. For it is true what the Romaniſts ſay in obloquy of this Archbiſhop,

and we Proteſtants ſay it to his eternal fame, that he was the firſt of all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury that made a defection from the Papal chair; thereby vindicating this crown from a baſe dependence upon a foreign juriſdiction. But whereas Parſons ſaith, that "this was the firſt "change of religion in any Archbiſhop of Can- "terbury from the beginning unto his days;" this is not ſo true; for ſundry of Archbiſhop Cranmer's predeceſſors (to look no further than two or three hundred years backward) were of different judgments from the church of Rome in ſome points. His immediate predeceſſor, Warham, approved of the King's title of Supreme Head of the Church under Chriſt, in his own kingdom, againſt the doctrine of the Pope's univerſal authority. And, a century of years before him, Archbiſhop Chichely, though he were made the Pope's legate, refuſed to exerciſe his power legantine, further than he ſhould be authorized thereunto by the King. And Archbiſhop Iſlip, as long before him, diſliked of diſſolving thoſe marriages that were contracted by ſuch as had before vowed the ſingle life. For though he laid a puniſhment upon a Counteſs of Kent, who, being a widow, and then profeſſed, afterwards ſecretly married to a certain knight, named Abrincourt; yet he divorced them not, but permitted

In his Three Converſions.

them to live together. And the judgment of Archbiſhop Arundel, who lived in King Richard the Second's reign, was for the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's uſe thereof. For he, preaching the funeral ſermon of Queen Anne, the beloved wife of that King, after ſhe deceaſed at Sheen, in the year 1392, commended her, as for her other virtuous accompliſhments, ſo particularly for her ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and of the ſenſe of them; and for having them in the vulgar tongue; as I find by an ancient MS. fragment, writ near three hundred years ago, formerly belonging to the church of Worceſter, in theſe words following; E Foxii MSS.

Alſo the Buſhop of Caunterbury, Thomas of Arundel, that now is, ſey a Sermon at Weſtminſter, thereas was many an hundred of people, at the buryeng of quene Anne, (of whoſe Sowle God have mercy.) And in his commendation of hey he ſeyd, That it was more joy of hey, than of any woman, that ever he knew. For notwithſtanding that ſhe was Alien born, [being the Daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.] ſhe had on Engliſh al the iiij goſpels, with the Doctors upon hem. And he ſeyd, that ſhe ſent them unto him. And he ſeyd, that they were good and true, and commended her, in that ſhe was

ſo great a Lady, and alſo an Alyan, and wolde ſtudy ſo holy, ſo vertuouſe bokes. And he blamed in his Sermon ſharply the negligence of the Prelates, and other men, &c.

So that it is not true what Parſons ſaith, if he mean, that no Archbiſhops of Canterbury, before Cranmer, varied from the church of Rome in any of her doctrines. But true it is, though not ſo much to their credits, that none of them, however ſenſible they were of the Roman errors and ſuperſtitions, did in good earneſt beſtir themſelves to ſet this church free of them, before our above-named Archbiſhop (being the ſixty-eighth from Auguſtine the monk) reſolutely and bravely undertook and effected it. Indeed they ſpent not their zeal, their treaſure, and their intereſt this way ſo much, as in contending about ſuperiority and their prerogatives, in exempting their clergy from the cognizance of the temporal magiſtrate, in applications to, and courting of, the Biſhops of Rome, in perſecuting thoſe they called hereticks, in eternizing their own names, by founding religious houſes, and building ſtately palaces, and ſhrines, and in exhibiting themſelves in great worldly pomp and appearance.

But bleſſed be God for Archbiſhop Cranmer; by means of whoſe reformation ſucceeded a ſe-

ries of better, though not ſo ſplendid, Archbiſhops. Who made conſcience of minding things more ſuitable to their high vocation, and the ſpiritual truſt committed to them: men that regarded little or nothing the vain ſhews of exterior grandeur and glory, nor ſought great things for themſelves; but, with their great predeceſſor St. Paul, (on whom lay the care of all the churches,) ſpent and wore out themſelves in the reſtoration of the kingdom of Chriſt, ſo happily begun by the ſaid Archbiſhop Cranmer in this iſland. Such were Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, the three firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhops next after him; what he planted they watered, and God gave a bleſſed increaſe to. Whoſe moſt excellent lives and conducts in the government of this church, as well as in their own more private and domeſtic converſation; their rare piety, prudence, patience, courage, and activity; I can ſcarcely temper my pen from making excurſions into. Of which I could fill even volumes (had I leiſure, favour, and countenance) from thoſe large collections which I have for divers years been ſtoring up with great delight, partly out of their own original letters, and partly from other MSS. in their times.

But, beſides theſe firſt Archbiſhops during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, who by their

care and diligence eſtabliſhed and ſettled that reformation, of which Archbiſhop Cranmer laid the firſt ſtones, we are beholden unto the ſame Archbiſhop for all the reſt of the worthy and painful prelates of that metropolitical ſee, who have taken care of this excellently reformed church, even unto your Grace: whoſe deſerts towards this church and the reformation have raiſed you to ſit in Archbiſhop Cranmer's chair; though with as much reluctancy in you, as was in him. Of your Grace's endowments to qualify you for this moſt eminent ſtation, I will be wholly ſilent; knowing how abhorrent your generous nature is from reading or hearing your own commendations.

Nor, my Lord, is this my end in this my Dedication: but this it is, that you would ſo far encourage theſe my weak and imperfect labours, (done out of a good intent) as to caſt a favourable eye upon them, for the ſake of your glorious predeceſſor, the ſubject of this book; and to repute me among the number,

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Of your moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervants,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

I THINK it fit, by way of preface to these Memorials, to admonish the reader of a few things preparatory to the perusal thereof: as, what it was put me at first upon making these collections concerning Archbishop Cranmer, and the state of the church in his time: what induced me to make them public: and, what credit may be given to them; with some other occasional matters.

I. As to the first, I have been for a long time not a little addicted to read whatsoever I could of the reformation of this famous church; that I might truly understand, for what reasons it was at first attempted; in what methods it proceeded; by what men it was chiefly managed and carried on; and how it stood in truth as to its doctrine, discipline, and government, reputation, learning, piety, and such like, in its first establishment, and the earlier times of it. For which purpose I did not only read over what we have in print of these matters, but, for more satisfaction, I was carried on to look into MSS. whether registers, records, letters, instruments, and such like: a great sort of which by providence fell into my hands. And, besides them, I have turned over many more in libraries and elsewhere;

from whence I made tranſcriptions, extracts, and collections, for my own uſe and ſatisfaction: which ſwelled to no little bulk. And, while I was doing this, I took always a more curious view into the lives, manners, and doings, learning, virtues, and abilities, of the chief leading men, whether archbiſhops and biſhops, or other churchmen; of whom we have but little account extant, though many of them very great and good men; little more remaining of ſome of them than their names.

The reverence I bore in my mind to Archbiſhop Cranmer, the father of the reformation here in England, and the firſt of that ancient metropolitan ſee that ſo bravely ſhook off the Pope and his appendages, inclined me eſpecially to gather up what notices I could of him. Afterwards, as my leiſure ſerved me, out of my indigeſted maſs of notes, I compiled into ſome order memorials of him, and of the affairs of the church during his primacy; in which he for the moſt part was concerned, and bore a great ſhare with King Henry, and the Lord Crumwel, his Vicegerent in ſpirituals. After ſome years, theſe memorials lying by me, I enlarged conſiderably, and digeſted them into annals, and had thoughts of making them public, being excited and encouraged thereunto by my friends, who were privy to theſe my doings.

II. And indeed many conſiderations induced me hereunto: as, in general, the great benefit of reading hiſtories of former times; which what that is, take in the words of John Fox; "For the things which be "firſt are to be preferred before thoſe which be later: "and then is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſary

In his Proteſtation to the whole Church of England.

" in the church, to know what went before, and what " followed after. And therefore, not without cauſe, " hiſtory in old authors is called, The witneſs of times, " the light of verity, the life of memory, the teacher " of life, and ſhewer of antiquity. Without the know- " ledge whereof, man's life is blind, and ſoon may fall " into any kind of error, as by manifeſt experience we " have to ſee in theſe deſolate later times of the " church, whenas the Biſhops of Rome, under colour " of antiquity, have turned truth into hereſy, and " brought in ſuch new-found devices of ſtrange doc- " trine and religion, as in the former ages of the " church were never heard of: and all through igno- " rance of times, and for lack of true hiſtory." And therefore the uſe of hiſtory being ſo conſiderable, hiſtorians in ſome kingdoms have been maintained by public encouragement. And ſo the writer of the Epiſtle to King Edward, before Eraſmus's Paraphraſe Engliſhed, propounded once to that King, " That there " ſhould be a public ſalary allotted to ſome able per- " ſons, to tranſlate good books, and to write chroni- " cles, for beſtowing ſo great a benefit on the com- " monwealth."

But particularly the hiſtory of the church, and matters relating to religion, have a more ſpecial benefit, as being converſant about ſpiritual things, which are weightier by far, and concern us more a great deal, than temporal. But, the more is the pity, in this ſort of hiſtory there is a greater defect than in the other; I ſpeak of our own nation; for though the hiſtory of the ſtate, in the laſt age, was excellently done by the pens of the Lord Herbert, and Mr. Cambden; yet the matters of the church they profeſſedly declined, or did

Pag. 418. Edit. 1672. but touch at; the former saying expressly, "His intention was not in an history to discuss theological matters, as holding it sufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted." And the latter in his history, as often as he came to matters of the church, tells us, that he left his readers to the ecclesiastical historian: which hath made me wonder at, and apt to accuse the slothfulness of that age, that, during all the time of King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary, wherein religion was so tossed about, and took up so much of those reigns, there is no one ecclesiastical history thereof written, except that of the diligent and learned Mr. Fox; and, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, I think none at all. Till of late years, when, by length of time, and destruction of many original MSS. by the civil wars, divers remarkable transactions were buried and lost, some few learned men employed themselves in collecting and publishing what memorials of religion and the church they could retrieve; as namely, Dr. Fuller, Dr. Heylin, and especially Dr. Burnet, now the right reverend Bishop of Sarum: to whom the English church must be ever beholden for his great and happy pains contributed hereunto. But yet there be good gleanings after these writers; and many things of remark there are, relating to the church in those three busy reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, whereof these historians are either wholly silent, or speak imperfectly, or erroneously: some whereof in my searches I have met with; which I have disposed in these Memorials.

But besides the general benefit of history, especially ecclesiastical, this particular history now recommended

16.) " that was written for thoſe that feared God, and " thought on his name." And ſurely it is agreeable to God's will that this piece of gratitude ſhould be ſhewn to men of ſingular virtue deceaſed, to keep their names and good deeds upon record, for poſterity to know, and to thank God for.

And this office of love and duty ſeems highly convenient to be done towards Archbiſhop Cranmer, that ſomething might appear in the world for his vindication, under thoſe many baſe aſperſions, and lying inſinuations, that are and have been printed by Papiſts, to defame and blacken him to poſterity. One of them hath theſe words, (which ſhew that he cared not what he ſaid, ſo he might but throw his dirt upon the chief lights of the reformation,) " The very pillars of this " rank, [which he names to be] Luther, Bucer, Peter " Martyr, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, " Farrar, Taylor, Tyndal, all married prieſts and friars, " [but ſome of them were never friars, and others ne- " ver married,] were men given to their ſenſualities, " both of women, and other like their commodities, " after the faſhion of other ordinary men. Neither is " there recounted any one eminent action in all " their lives, that I have read, either of chaſtening " their bodies, mortifying their appetites, contemning " the world and the pleaſures thereof, while they might " have and uſe the ſame; or finally, any more excel- " lent ſpirit in them above the reſt, or of any ſuperna- " tural concurrence of God with their actions in any " one thing." But did he converſe ſo much in Fox, as to undertake in one or two books to anſwer and confute him and his martyrs; and yet doth he meet with nothing there of none of theſe men in that Mar-

Parſons's Three Converſions, Part iii. p. 84.

tyrology but what was "ordinary to other men," and that ſhewed not ſome "more excellent ſpirit" to be in them? It is a ſign he read but little there, or read with a cankered mind. This enſuing book ſhall effectually confute theſe miſreports and ſlanders of Cranmer, one of theſe pillars, as he calls them; and ſhall abundantly make it appear, that he was no ſenſualiſt, nor addicted (notwithſtanding his high place) to the pleaſures and commodities of this world; and that his life ſhone bright by his many eminent actions of piety, mortification, contempt of the world; and that he was of a "more excellent ſpirit" than that of the ordinary rank of men; and that for ſome ages there ſcarce aroſe his fellow; and, finally, that he muſt needs have ſome "ſupernatural concurrence" and mighty aid of God's grace with him, in many of the affairs that paſſed through his hands.

III. The third thing remains, (which is indeed the main matter that makes an hiſtory of any account,) and that is, what credit may be given to what I have writ: for if it ſtand not upon the foot of truth, it is not hiſtory, but a romance, a legend, a mere tale. And here I remember what John Fox ſaid to Alan Cope, concerning an hiſtory-controuler, which is as true of an hiſtory-writer: "If you will be a controuler in "ſtory-matters, diligence is required, and great ſearching out of books and authors, not only of our time, "but of all ages, and eſpecially where matters of religion are touched, pertaining to the church; it is "not ſufficient to ſay what Fabian or what Hall ſaith, "but records muſt be ſought, and regiſters muſt be "turned over: letters alſo and ancient inſtruments

Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 532. Edit. 1610.

" ought to be perufed, and authors with the fame " compared; finally, the writers among themfelves one " to be compared with another; and fo with judgment " to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and " with fimplicity, pure from all addiction and partiality, " to be uttered."

Now to meafure myfelf with this: diligence and faithfulnefs, I truft, hath not been wanting in me: I have been governed by a hearty defire and love of truth; I have read over fuch printed books as are of the beft credit and vogue, and I have often compared them with good MSS. efpecially when I have had occafion to make ufe of them; which I have done but fparingly and briefly, that I might not cumber the book with what hath been known and written afore. But the collections I have here made, and do publifh to the world, are chiefly from manufcript records, regifters, letters, orders of council, original and authentic. For, befides Archbifhop Cranmer's regifter, in a great folio, in which I have beftowed fome confiderable time, I have had the perufal of feveral rare papers (volumes I may fay) of Sir John Cotton, preferved in his invaluable library; and of Archbifhop Parker, that great antiquarian, collected by him, and now remaining in the private library of Benet College in Cambridge; among which there is a writing, intituled, " A decla- " ration concerning the progeny, with the manners " and trade of life, and bringing up, of the moft reve- " rend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, late Arch- " bifhop of Canterbury; and by what order and means " he came to his preferments and dignities." Which I perceive was drawn up by Cranmer's Secretary, at

the deſire of Archbiſhop Parker, and for his uſe. I have been converſant in what remaineth of the papers of John Fox, communicated to me by the favour of my good friend William Willys, of Hackney, Eſquire. Among which there is a MS. life of Cranmer; Annals, writ by an Auguſtine Monk of Canterbury, from the year 1532 to 1538: many letters of Fox, and other learned men, to him, relating to the affairs or afflictions of the church in thoſe times; and abundance more, too long here to be inſerted. I have conſulted alſo many MSS. of great worth, originally belonging to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's ſecretary, imparted to me by Sir William Hickes, of Low-Leyton in Eſſex, Knight and Baronet: wherein are divers of Archbiſhop Cranmer's letters, written by his own pen. By the kindneſs of the reverend Mr. Nicolas Battely of Kent, and his great readineſs and zeal to forward my deſign, I have received a great many material *excerpta* out of the regiſters and records of the cathedral church of Canterbury, and out of other books and MSS. William Petyt of the Inner-Temple, Eſquire, and keeper of the Tower-records, did with great humanity communicate unto me his collection of excellent papers, contained in two large volumes: which though in theſe Memorials I have made but little uſe of, yet may be admirably ſubſervient to me, or whoſoever's lot elſe it may happen to fall to, to give the world ſome account of Queen Elizabeth's Archbiſhops, and the church affairs in their times. In this catalogue of friends and aſſiſtants, I muſt mention alſo the reverend Dr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Henry Wharton; Mr. Laughton, keeper of the public library in Cambridge, and Mr. Harriſon,

fellow of Sidney College in that univerſity. Unto all theſe gentlemen now named, I do here (as I ought in gratitude) publickly acknowledge myſelf beholden.

I did alſo conſult the MS. library at Lambeth, by the favourable permiſſion of the laſt, and the preſent, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But though there be divers ſhelves of very choice MSS. yet I found little or nothing there ſerviceable to my purpoſe; unleſs it ſhould pleaſe God to lengthen my life and health, to write in this method concerning Archbiſhop Whitgift. Neither was I ſucceſsful in inquiries, which I procured friends to make, from ſuch as were relations of the Archbiſhop, in any matters or notices concerning him. There is one Mr. Cartwright of Nottinghamſhire, that is an heir of that ancient family of the Cranmers, a worthy gentleman, and now, or late, juſtice of the peace for that county; who, being made acquainted with my deſign, and moved to impart any letters or writings that might be of uſe thereunto, anſwered a friend, that he was plundered in the late civil wars of abundance of papers, and not a few to that effect; but that now he had not any thing left to contribute but his own good wiſhes to the undertaker.

But ſtill further, for the better ſatisfying the readers in the truth of what I write, I have, according to a good practice firſt begun by Mr. Sumner of Canterbury, caſt the moſt material records and original letters together by themſelves in an Appendix, that thoſe that pleaſe may read them there, rather than in the body of the ſtory, where it might too much interrupt the thread of the diſcourſe, and make the reading more tedious. Which Appendix will ſerve both as a proof of the hiſtory, and moreover as a repoſitory for many choice mo-

In his Antiq. of Canterbury.

numents of antiquity; which otherwiſe, being in looſe papers, and private ſtudies, might in time be utterly extinguiſhed, and irrecoverably loſt.

And I do here proteſt once for all, that I have not inſerted into this book any one ſingle hiſtorical paſſage out of mine own head, but ſuch as I have either found in ſome credible publiſhed hiſtory, or in ſome old book printed in thoſe times, or the prefaces and epiſtles to them; or, laſtly, in ſome good MS. or other.

I have digeſted theſe Memorials into Annals, and have laid matters under their reſpective years, and months, and days, as near as I could: ſometimes indeed I have been left to conjecture at the true time; which I have done with as much care and exactneſs as, by conſidering all circumſtances, I could. Yet herein I am not ſo confident, but that I may ſometimes perhaps make a miſtake: and if I do ſo, it will, I hope, be excuſed to me, conſidering that I was fain oftentimes to go by gueſs, (grounded however upon the beſt probability I could make,) the papers I uſed being not ſeldom without date, ſometimes of the year, ſometimes of the month, and ſometimes of both.

I thought it not amiſs (though I have not obſerved it done in any other hiſtory) to ſet down under every year what biſhops dioceſan and ſuffragan were conſecrated in the province of Canterbury, and by whom. And I am jealous ſome of the ſuffragans may be omitted by me; which defect muſt be attributed to the regiſters rather than to me. I have taken particular heed to the convocations, and to what was done in them. And, becauſe the affairs of the Engliſh church have ſuch a near relation unto the archbiſhops of the church, ſo as their hiſtories are but maimed and imper-

ject without ſome reſpect had to thoſe affairs, I have diligently interwoven many eccleſiaſtical emergencies into this Hiſtory; and a great many more I have been forced to omit, though well worthy the public, leſt the volume might ſwell too much.

If any might perhaps deem this a needleſs work, the life of this Archbiſhop having been writ already in the Book of Martyrs, and the Britiſh Antiquities; I anſwer ſuch, that I have therefore been ſhort, and it may be ſilent, in ſome things more fully and largely treated of elſewhere: but here are numberleſs notices given concerning the Archbiſhop, ſome which are no where elſe, others very imperfectly, obſerved; beſides the narrations of the ſtate, and hiſtory of the church, (which are every where interpoſed,) in moſt of which the Archbiſhop bore a part.

The cathedral church of Canterbury, now called Chriſt Church, I have in ſome places ſtyled Trinity Church, becauſe I ſo find it named in thoſe particular records I make uſe of in thoſe places; and, it ſeems, in ſome of the firſt years of our Archbiſhop, it ordinarily went by that old name.

My ſtyle may ſeem rough and unpoliſhed, and the phraſes here and there uncouth; the reaſon of which is, becauſe, I confeſs, I have often taken the very expreſſions and words of the papers I have uſed; and ſo may fall ſometimes into obſolete terms, and a ſtyle not ſo acceptable to the preſent age, whoſe language is refined from what it was an hundred and fifty or forty years ago. But I have choſen to do this that I might keep the nearer truth, and leſt that, by varying of the language, I might perhaps ſometimes vary from the true meaning of my

writer. And, in truth, he that is a lover of antiquity loves the very language and phraſes of antiquity.

The reader will find ſome few things here which are already publiſhed in the late Specimen put forth by Anthony Harmer; he and I, it ſeems, lighting unwittingly upon the ſame records, to wit, King Edward's Council-Book, and the Regiſter of Chriſt Church, Cant. Nor could I ſtrike out of my book what I found publiſhed in the ſaid Specimen, having fully finiſhed it, and the copy being under the preſs ſome weeks before that book came forth, and the matters there related interwoven into the contexture of my hiſtory.

And now, after all this pains that I have taken in fulfilling this taſk, (which I aſſure the readers have not been ſmall, nor of a few years,) let me not for every little ſlip fall under their cenſure and reproach, but rather let them uſe me with gentleneſs and charity; conſidering how few, though much abler, will trouble themſelves to labour and drudge, and take journeys, and be at expences, in making ſuch collections for the public good. It calls to mind what happened upon the death of the laborious antiquary John Stow, who had been a collector of matters for the Engliſh hiſtory ſeven and forty years, and died 1605, and had all the collections of Reiner Wolf, (another hiſtorian, and a printer in King Edward the Sixth's days;) and, if he had lived but one year longer, intended to have publiſhed his long labours: but, after his death, there was not a man to be found to take the ſmall pains to review his papers, and fit them for the preſs. Many indeed were talked of to

do it, both perſons of quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earneſt expectation to ſee Stow in print,) but, when they were ſpoke to to take the good work in hand, ſome of them ſaid, that they thought the giving out of their names was rather done by ſecret enemies, on purpoſe to draw them into capital diſpleaſure, and to bring their names and lives into a general queſtion. Others ſaid, that they who did ſuch a work muſt flatter, which they could not; neither wilfully would they leave a ſcandal unto their poſterity. Another ſaid, he could not ſee how in any civil action a man ſhould ſpend his travel, time, and money worſe, than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one among the reſt ſwore an oath, and ſaid, he thanked God that he was not yet mad, to waſte his time, ſpend two hundred pounds a year, (which it ſeems Stow had done,) trouble himſelf and all his friends, only to gain aſſurance of endleſs reproach, loſs of liberty, and bring all his days in queſtion. Yet at laſt one Edward Howes undertook it, and effected it: but it happened juſt ſo to him, having been intolerably abuſed and ſcandalized for his labour. So ſlothful and backward are moſt to take pains in works of this nature, and ſo apt to cenſure thoſe that do. I hope I ſhall meet (if not with thanks, at leaſt) with more candid men, and better uſage.

But whatever happens, I ſhall arm myſelf with patience to undergo it, ſince I intend nothing hereby but to be ſerviceable unto my country, and God's church, and to juſtify the excellent reformation of it in theſe kingdoms; and, finally, to do right unto the memory of

that truly great and good Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And thus, recommending the ſucceſs of this work unto God's bleſſing, I here make an end.

J. STRYPE.

Sept. 29. 1693.
Low-Leyton.

I deſire the reader to take notice, that, when I quote Fox's Acts and Monuments, it is the edition in the year 1610. And when the Life of King Henry VIII. by the Lord Herbert, it is the edition of 1672. And when the Hiſtory of the Reformation by Biſhop Burnet, it is that of the year 1681. Farewell.

A TABLE

OF THE

BOOKS, CHAPTERS, AND CONTENTS,

OF THESE

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Cranmer's Birth, Education, and Rise.

A WORTHY work to revive his memory. His family. Account of his younger years. Sent to Cambridge, anno 1503. Sets himself to study the Scripture. Is made doctor of divinity. Marries. Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon. He is made one of the university examiners. The King's great cause first proposed to the universities. The occasion of his rise. His opinion of the King's cause. The King sends for him. Suitably placed with the Earl of Ormond. Friendship and correspondence between the Earl and Cranmer. A providence in his being placed here. Cranmer disputes at Cambridge. Grows dear to the King and his court. Anno 1489, 1503, 1511, 1516, 1523, 1529, 1530.

CHAP. II.

Pole's Book about the King's Matrimony.

Pole's book against the King's dissolving his marriage. Cranmer peruses it. His account of it. His censure thereof. Anno 1530.

CHAP. III.

Cranmer's Embaſſies.

Anno 1530, 1531, 1532. *He is employed in embaſſies. To the Pope. Offers him a diſpute in favour of the King's cauſe. To the Emperor. Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the King's cauſe. Becomes acquainted with Oſiander; and marries his kinſwoman. Treats with the Emperor about the contract of traffick; and about ſending ſupplies againſt the Turk. Sends the King the news in thoſe parts; and the proclamation for a general council; and the tax of the ſtates of the empire. He goes in an embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other proteſtant princes.*

CHAP. IV.

Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Anno 1532, 1533. *Made Archbiſhop of Canterbury. His dignities before he was Archbiſhop. Archbiſhop Warham foretels a Thomas to ſucceed him. Archbiſhop Warham for the King's ſupremacy. Cranmer's teſtimony of Warham. A reflection upon a paſſage relating to Cranmer in Harpsfield's Hiſtory. Cranmer tries to evade the archbiſhoprick. Declares the reaſon thereof to the King. The Archbiſhop's brother is made Archdeacon of Canterbury. The King linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about Queen Katharine. The King and Archbiſhop appeal from the Pope to a general council. The King writes to Dr. Boner his ambaſſador in that behalf. The Archbiſhop is conſecrated. The Pope's bulls. The Archbiſhop ſurrenders them to the King. The method of the conſecration. The Archbiſhop's oath for the temporalties. The Archbiſhop pronounceth the divorce. The Archbiſhop's judgment of the marriage.*

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

Anno 1533. *The Archbiſhop forbids preaching. Viſits his dioceſe. The deluſion of a nun in Kent. The Archbiſhop appeals from*

the Pope. The Archbiſhop's letter to Boner. Diſputes in the parliament againſt the Pope's ſupremacy. Licences for chapels.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop preſſeth the Tranſlation of the Bible.

The Archbiſhop labours the reformation of the church. What he did this convocation. A book for preaching, and the beads. Diſperſed by the Archbiſhop to all the biſhops. The Archbiſhop of York preaches at York. The clergy and univerſities ſubſcribe againſt the Pope. Cranmer and others adminiſter the oath of ſucceſſion to the clergy: and to Sir Thomas More, who refuſed it. Cranmer's argument with him. More offers to ſwear to the ſucceſſion itſelf. Biſhop Fiſher offers the ſame. The Archbiſhop writes to Crumwel in their behalf. The Archbiſhop's endeavour to ſave the lives of More and Fiſher. Anno 1534.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbiſhop viſits the Dioceſe of Norwich.

A præmunire brought againſt Biſhop Nix. The Archbiſhop viſits this Biſhop's ſee. The Biſhop of Norwich a perſecutor. Goodrick, Lee, and Salcot, conſecrated biſhops. Anno 1534.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbiſhop preacheth at Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop preaches up the King's ſupremacy at Canterbury. A prior preaches againſt him: whom he convents before him. The Archbiſhop acquaints the King with the matter. A provincial viſitation. Wincheſter herein oppoſeth him. The Archbiſhop's vindication of his title of Primate. The Biſhop of London refuſeth his viſitation: and proteſts againſt him. Cranmer ſends him a part of the New Teſtament to tranſlate: and his anſwer. Lawney's jeſt upon Biſhop Stokeſly. Who this Lawney was. Anno 1535.

CHAP. IX.

Monaſteries viſited.

Anno 1535. *Monaſteries viſited. The Archbiſhop for their diſſolution. The viſitors' informations. Biſhops dioceſan and ſuffragan conſecrated. Suffragan biſhops uſual in the realm. Biſhops without title. Nicholas Shaxton, Edward Fox, William Barlow, George Brown. A memorial of the good ſervices of Archbiſhop Brown in Ireland. Thomas Mannyng. John Saliſbury.*

CHAP. X.

The Audience Court.

Anno 1536. *The Archbiſhop's audience court ſtruck at. The Archbiſhop defends it. The Archbiſhop promoting a reformation in the convocation.*

CHAP. XI.

Articles of Religion.

Anno 1536. *Articles publiſhed and recommended by the King. The original thereof. The original ſent into the north to ſhew to the rebels. The contents of them. Articles of faith. Articles relating to ceremonies. A conjecture that the pen of the Archbiſhop was here.*

CHAP. XII.

Cranmer's Judgment about ſome Caſes of Matrimony.

Anno 1536. *Two remarkable books publiſhed.* 1. *The book of Articles.* 2. *A book againſt the Pope, called,* The Biſhops' Book. *Certain caſes of matrimony put to the Archbiſhop. His ſolution. Refuſeth to grant a diſpenſation for the marriage of a relation. His letter thereupon. He reſtrains the number of proctors: which ſome complain of to the parliament. The Archbiſhop divorceth Queen Anne. A licence for a chapel. Bucer this year dedicates a book to the Archbiſhop. Biſhops conſecrated; Richard Sampſon, William Rugge, Robert Warton.*

CHAP. XIII.

The Biſhops' Book.

The Biſhops' book by the Archbiſhop's means. Wincheſter's oppoſition. The King makes animadverſions upon it. Publiſhed. How eſteemed. Enlarged and reprinted. Some account of the foreſaid book. Names of the compoſers. Anno 1537.

CHAP. XIV.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

Goes down into his dioceſe. Gets a licence to viſit. The Vicar of Croydon. The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe. What courſe he took for the preventing of ſuperſtition. Anno 1537.

CHAP. XV.

The Bible printed.

His joy at the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible. Preſents one by Crumwel to the King. Cranmer's letters to Crumwel. Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible. The printer's thanks and requeſts to Crumwel. Grafton to Crumwel. The printer apprehenſive of another edition. Other requeſts of the printer. Anno 1537.

CHAP. XVI.

Many Suffragan Biſhops made.

The feaſt of St. Thomas, &c. forbid. Robert Holgate conſecrated Biſhop. John Bird, Lewis Thomas; ſome account of Bird; Thomas Morley, Richard Yngworth, John Thornton, Richard Thornden, John Hodgkin, Henry Holbeach; Suffragans. Anno 1537.

CHAP. XVII.

The Bible in Engliſh allowed.

The Archbiſhop reads upon the Hebrews. A declaration for reading the Bible. The Bible received and read with great Anno 1538.

joy. The Archbiſhop had a hand in Lambert's death. The biſhops diſpute againſt Lambert's reaſons.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbiſhop's Judgment of the Euchariſt.

Anno 1538. *Cranmer zealous for the corporal preſence. His reaſons for it. Sanders his ſlanders of the Archbiſhop concerning his opinion in the ſacrament. When Cranmer changed his opinion. Latimer of the ſame judgment. Divers prieſts marry wives. The King's proclamation againſt prieſts' marriages. Anabaptiſts. A commiſſion againſt them. The waywardneſs of the prieſts occaſions the King to write to the juſtices. The Archbiſhop viſits the dioceſe of Hereford. Biſhops conſecrated; William Finch, John Bradley.*

CHAP. XIX.

The Act of Six Articles.

Anno 1538, 1539. *The Archbiſhop makes Nicholas Wotton Commiſſary of his Faculties. The King offended with the Archbiſhop, and ſome other biſhops. The ſix Articles oppoſed by the Archbiſhop. The arguments the Archbiſhop made uſe of at this time loſt. The King's meſſage to the Archbiſhop by the Lords. A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in. A convocation. The Papiſts rejoice. Two priories ſurrendered to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop and Cromwel labour with the King about the new biſhopricks. Biſhops this year; John Bell, John Skyp.*

CHAP. XX.

The Archbiſhop in commiſſion.

Anno 1540. *The Archbiſhop's enemies accuſe him. His honeſty and courage in diſcharge of a commiſſion: and his ſucceſs therein. Queſtions of religion to be diſcuſſed by divines, by the King's command. The names of the commiſſioners. Seventeen queſtions upon the ſacrament. The Archbiſhop's judgment upon theſe queſtions. The judgments of other learned men concerning other points. An act to prevent divorces. The*

Archbiſhop to Oſiander, concerning the Germans' abuſe of matrimony.

CHAP. XXI.

The largeſt Bible printed.

Some account of printing the Engliſh Bible. The New Teſta- Anno 1540.
ment printed 1526. *And burnt. Reprinted about* 1530. *Burnt again. The Scripture prohibited in a meeting at the Star-chamber. The New Teſtament burnt the third time. The whole Bible printed* 1537. *Matthews, that is, Rogers's Bible. About* 1538. *the Bible printed again in Paris. The printers fall into the inquiſition. The Bible printed with French preſſes in London. The largeſt Bible publiſhed in the year* 1540. *Boner's admonition for reading the Bible. The Bible ſuppreſſed again, anno* $154\frac{2}{3}$. *King Henry's judgment for the uſe of the Bible.*

CHAP. XXII.

The Archbiſhop retired.

The Archbiſhop keeps himſelf more retired. The Archbiſhop Anno 1540.
iſſues out his commiſſion for the conſecrating of Boner. Boner's oath of fidelity. The Archbiſhop makes a commiſſary in Calais. Butler a better commiſſary. His troubles. The occaſion thereof the diſcovery of a religious cheat. Glazier commiſſary in Calais. The Archbiſhop's judgment of admiſſion of ſcholars into the ſchool belonging to the cathedral. Biſhops conſecrated; Edmund Boner, Nicholas Hethe, Thomas Thirlby. Some account of Thirlby's riſe.

CHAP. XXIII.

All-Souls College viſited.

The Archbiſhop viſits All-Souls College. Viſits it a ſecond Anno 1541.
time. The Archbiſhop gives orders about ſhrines. The King to the Archbiſhop for ſearching after ſhrines. The Archbiſhop's orders accordingly to his Dean, his Archdeacon, and Commiſſary. The Archbiſhop lays Bekeſburn to the ſee. Learned preachers preferred by the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop makes ſome recant. A convocation. Their buſineſs.

Biſhops conſecrated; William Knight, John Wakeman, John Chambre, Arthur Bulkeley, Robert King.

CHAP. XXIV.

The King's Book reviſed.

Anno 1542. *The King's book reviſed by the Archbiſhop. Divers diſcourſes of the Archbiſhop. The goodly Primer. The Archbiſhop inſtrumental to the reformation of Scotland. An act procured by the Archbiſhop. Paul Buſh conſecrated.*

CHAP. XXV.

Preſentments at a Viſitation.

Anno 1543. *The King's book publiſhed by authority. A viſitation at Canterbury. Preſentments. Reflections upon the former preſentments. The prebendaries and preachers admoniſhed by the Archbiſhop.*

CHAP. XXVI.

A black Cloud over the Archbiſhop.

Anno 1543. *The prebendaries plot againſt the Archbiſhop. Wincheſter the chief manager. Wincheſter deſigns the death of divers of the court: and of the Archbiſhop and his friends. The papers relating to Archbiſhop Cranmer's accuſation. The contents thereof. The canons and preachers of Canterbury. Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the ſeſſions. They prepare the articles, and prefer them. They article againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf. London's practices. A great maſs of articles againſt the Archbiſhop procured. The chief inſtruments Gardiner, Serles, Shether. The Biſhop of Wincheſter's diſcourſe with a prebendary of Canterbury. Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber. Willoughby brought to the Lord Privy Seal, and to Wincheſter. The contents of the articles againſt the Archbiſhop. More articles againſt his Commiſſary. More ſtill. The witneſſes. The prebendaries deliver the articles.*

CHAP. XXVII.

The King the Archbishop's Friend in this Danger.

The King himself discovers all to the Archbishop. The Archbishop desires a commission. The Archbishop in commission expostulates with his accusers. Shether in prison sends to Winchester. Their reasons which they pretended for what they did. Cockes and Hussey commissioners, and his officers false. New commissioners sent down. The Register false. The delinquents' chambers and chests searched. The treachery of Thornton and Barber. The Archbishop's discourse to them. The conspirators are imprisoned. Their release. Their confessions and letters. The ends of the conspirators. Anno 1543.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Archbishop falls into more Troubles.

The Archbishop accused before the parliament. The palace of Canterbury burnt. The council accuse the Archbishop. The King sends privately for him. Comes before the council. The King rebukes the council for Cranmer. The King changes the Archbishop's arms. Anno 1543, 1544.

CHAP. XXIX.

Occasional Prayers and Suffrages.

Prayers to be made against immoderate rain. English suffrages commanded to be used. The contents of the King's letter to that end. A procession for the King's expedition. The council's letter to the Archbishop. Popery prevails. Gardiner and the bishops now carry all. Bishop of Landaff removed to York. His oath. Anno 1544.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbishop reformeth the Canon Law.

The Archbishop sets upon reforming the canon law. An act concerning it. The progress made by the Archbishop in this Anno 1545, 1546.

work. The MS. of these laws. The Archbishop labours in this work under King Edward. The Archbishop employed in mending service-books. The King consults with the Archbishop for the redress of certain superstitions. The opportunity of Winchester's absence taken. The Archbishop prevails with the King in two great points. Seeks to redress alienation of the revenues of the cathedral. Scripture and sermons more common by the Archbishop's means. Anthony Kitchen consecrated. A proclamation against the English Testament. He interprets a statute of his church. The Archbishop, by the King's command, pens a form for a communion. His last office to the King.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

He crowns King Edward.

Anno 1546. *Conceives great hopes of King Edward. The Archbishop takes a commission to execute his office. King Edward crowned by the Archbishop. The manner of the coronation. The Archbishop's speech at the coronation.*

CHAP. II.

A royal Visitation.

Anno 1547. *A royal visitation on foot. The visitors. The method of this visitation. The Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.*

CHAP. III.

Homilies, and Erasmus's Paraphrase.

Anno 1547. *The Archbishop to Winchester concerning the Homilies. The Archbishop, &c. compose homilies. Winchester in the Fleet. The Bishop of Winchester's censure of the homily of Salvation: and of the Archbishop for it. Winchester's censure*

of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe. His account of his commitment. Eraſmus vindicated. Wincheſter's letter to Somerſet concerning theſe things. The Archbiſhop appoints a thankſgiving for a victory. The Archbiſhop to the Biſhop of London.

CHAP. IV.

A Convocation.

A convocation in the firſt year of the King. Dr. Redman's judgment of prieſts' marriage. The Archbiſhop's influence on the parliament. The communion in both kinds eſtabliſhed. The Archbiſhop's queries concerning the maſs. The Archbiſhop aſſiſts at the funeral of the French King. The Marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the Archbiſhop. Proceſſions forbid by his means. Examines the offices of the church. Anno 1547.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop's Catechiſm.

The Archbiſhop puts forth a Catechiſm. And a book againſt Unwritten Verities. His care of Canterbury. Anno 1547.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Univerſity.

The Archbiſhop's influence upon the Univerſity. Some of St. John's College apply to him upon the apprehenſion of a danger. Offended with ſome of this college, and why. The ill condition and low eſtate of the Univerſity. An addreſs of the Univerſity to the Archbiſhop. The ſum thereof. The ſucceſs of the Univerſity's addreſs to him and others. Another addreſs to him againſt the townſmen. Roger Aſcham's application to him for a diſpenſation for eating fleſh. Favourably granted by the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent. Aſcham acquaints him with the preſent ſtate of the Univerſity, as to their ſtudies. Sir John Cheke, the Archbiſhop's dear friend, the prime inſtrument Anno 1547.

of politer ſtudies there. The impediments of the Univerſity's flouriſhing ſtate laid before him.

CHAP. VII.

Dr. Smith and others recant.

Anno 1547. *Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Croſs. His books. Gardiner offended with this recantation. Other univerſity-men recant. Smith affronts the Archbiſhop. His inconſtancy. The Archbiſhop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney. The Archbiſhop licenſeth an eminent preacher. Who preacheth againſt the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church. Is bound to anſwer for his ſermon at the aſſizes. How far the reformation had proceeded. Ridley conſecrated biſhop.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

Anno 1548. *Churches profaned. Church ornaments embezzled. The council's letter to the Archbiſhop thereupon. A form of prayer ſent to the Archbiſhop; with the council's letter. New opinions broached. Champney's revokes ſix articles; and abjures. Other hereſies vented. Aſheton's recantation. Other errors ſtill. Joan Bocher's hereſy. Latimer's cenſure of her. George van Paris.*

CHAP. IX.

The Archbiſhop viſits.

Anno 1548. *The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe. His articles for the clergy; and for the laity. An exchange made between the Archbiſhop and the Lord Windſor. Farrar Biſhop of St. David's conſecrated. Some account of this Biſhop. The Archbiſhop ſwayed by Farrar's enemies.*

CHAP. X.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. *Rebellion in Devon. The Archbiſhop anſwers the rebels' articles. Some account thereof. Criſpin, Moreman, Car-*

dinal Pole. The Archbiſhop procures ſermons to be made againſt the rebellion. Peter Martyr's ſermon upon this occaſion. The French take occaſion at this rebellion. Bucer's diſcourſe againſt the ſedition. The Archbiſhop's prayer, compoſed for this occaſion.

CHAP. XI.

Biſhop Boner deprived.

The Archbiſhop deprives Boner. Diſcourſe between the Archbiſhop and him concerning his book; and concerning the ſacrament. Chargeth the Archbiſhop concerning the preachers he allowed. The Archbiſhop's anſwer to Boner's declaration. Papiſts inſiſt upon the invalidity of the laws made in the King's minority. An ordination of prieſts and deacons. The office of ordination reformed. The Archbiſhop viſits ſome vacant churches; St. David's, Gloceſter, Norwich, London. A new Dean of the Arches. Anno 1549.

CHAP. XII.

Duke of Somerſet's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

The Archbiſhop writes to the Lords at Ely-houſe. Their anſwer. The Archbiſhop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed. Anno 1549.

CHAP. XIII.

The Archbiſhop entertains learned Foreigners.

The Archbiſhop harbours learned ſtrangers. Bucer writes in the Archbiſhop's family. The Archbiſhop's gueſts. Martyr dedicates his lectures at Oxon to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer to come over. Bucer and Fagius profeſſors at Cambridge. Fagius dies. The Archbiſhop ſends money to Fagius's widow. Bucer laments his loſs. Anno 1549.

CHAP. XIV.

Peter Martyr diſputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

Anno 1549. *Peter Martyr challenged publickly to a diſputation. His anſwer hereunto. Declines it at preſent; and why. They agree upon the conditions of a diſputation. They diſpute. Martyr ſends the ſum of the diſputation to the Archbiſhop. The diſputation publiſhed by Martyr: and by Treſham. Smith writes to the Archbiſhop from Scotland. Diſputations at Cambridge before the commiſſioners. Bucer diſputes. His judgment of the ſacrament.*

CHAP. XV.

Matters of the Church, and its State now.

Anno 1549. *Relicks of Popery remaining. The council gives orders to the juſtices: and writes to the biſhops. Neglect in London. Adulteries frequent. Books diſperſed by Proteſtants. Preaching againſt Lent. Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme againſt Lent. Latimer counſels the King about marriage. Foreign Proteſtants, their offer to King Edward.*

CHAP. XVI.

Ridley made Biſhop of London. The Communion-Book reviewed.

Anno 1550. *Ridley made Biſhop of London. Rocheſter vacant. Bucer writes to Dorſet not to ſpoil the church. The Common Prayer-Book reviewed. Bucer and Martyr employed in it.*

CHAP. XVII.

Hoper's Troubles.

Anno 1550. *Hoper nominated for Biſhop of Gloceſter. He and Ridley conſer about the habits. The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter. The queſtions. Martyr writes*

to Hoper. Hoper's two objections: conſidered. Another objection of Hoper conſidered. Other things urged by him. Hoper confined to his houſe, and ſilenced. Committed to the Archbiſhop's cuſtody. Sent to the Fleet. Hoper conforms. Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

CHAP. XVIII.

Biſhop Hoper viſits his Dioceſe.

Hoper viſits his dioceſe. His articles of religion. His injunctions and interrogatories. Holds Worceſter in commendam: *and viſits that church and ſee. Goes over both his dioceſes again. The council's order concerning the two canons. Licence for the Biſhop of Gloceſter to attend upon the Ducheſs of Somerſet in the Tower. Other matters relating to this Biſhop.* Anno 1550.

CHAP. XIX.

Troubles of Biſhop Gardiner.

Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner. The council's proceedings with him. Articles propounded to him to ſubſcribe. Wincheſter ſequeſtered for three months. The ſequeſtration expires. The commiſſioners ſit to examine him. A letter of ſome noblemen, whom he had belied. Gardiner offers his book againſt Cranmer to the commiſſioners. He is deprived. The council's order for his ſtrait confinement. Poynet made Biſhop of Winton. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XX.

Biſhop Hethe and Biſhop Day, their Deprivations.

Other popiſh Biſhops dealt with. Biſhop Hethe's troubles. Sent for before the council. Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, his troubles. Biſhop Day will not pull down altars. Appears before the council. The Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely reaſon with him. The council give him time to confer. Before the council again. Before the council the third time. And the fourth time, when he was ſent to the Fleet. Com- Anno 1550.

miſſioners appointed for Worceſter and Chicheſter. They are deprived. Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, and the other with the Biſhop of London. Day writes to King's College for leaving off maſſes. His unnatural carriage towards his brother. Preaches againſt tranſubſtantiation. His change charged on him.

CHAP. XXI.

Papiſts grow bold. Looſe Profeſſors reſtrained.

Anno 1550. *The Papiſts write libels. Several Papiſts now taken up. Chedſey, Morgan, Sir Anthony Brown, White. Other profeſſors reſtrained.*

CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed Churches. A Laſco.

Anno 1550. *The Archbiſhop's care of the ſouls of ſtrangers reſiding here. The Dutch congregation under John a Laſco. The occaſion of his coming into England. His buſineſs here. From Embden he wrote to the Archbiſhop: and to Cecyl. The ſad condition of the Proteſtants there. Latimer mentions A Laſco to the King. Conteſt among A Laſco's people. The care of A Laſco over his church, and its privileges. Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich. Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church. The extent of his ſuperintendency. Melanchon thought to ſhelter himſelf under him. His great abilities for government. Eraſmus's praiſe of him. Purchaſed Eraſmus's library. A Laſco a married man. His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Blamed for meddling in our controverſies. A church of Italians conſtituted in London. Michael Angelo their miniſter. The ſervice the Archbiſhop did for this church: and for the miniſter. Divers of this church fall out with their miniſter, and go to maſs again. A conjecture at the cauſe thereof. Their miniſter ſends their names to the Secretary, and accuſes them. The morals of this man tainted. Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary. A French church alſo in London.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glaſtenbury.

Another church of ſtrangers at Glaſtenbury. Their trade weaving. Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and ſuperintendent. How they came to fix here. Conditions of trade between them and Somerſet. Their trade obſtructed by the troubles of Somerſet. Apply themſelves again to the council, and to the Secretary Cecyl. The council become their patrons, and aſſiſt them. Orders from the Lords to ſet this manufacture forwards. Pollanus very ſerviceable to them. An apology for the largeneſs of the former relation. After the King's death they remove to Frankford. Prove friends to the Engliſh exiles there. A Spaniſh church. Caſſiodorus and Corranus their preachers. Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Proteſtants. Great numbers of Proteſtants in Spain and Italy. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

The Archbiſhop labours to preſerve the revenues of the church. The detaining the church revenues a ſcandal to the reformation. Calvin to the Archbiſhop upon this matter: and to the Duke of Somerſet. Bucer publickly diſputeth at Cambridge. Dieth. The Univerſity wrote up concerning his death. Bucer's library. His widow retires to Germany. The correſpondence between him and Martyr. A plot of the Papiſts at Oxon againſt Martyr, at an Act. Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book. Bucer's great dangers. Poynet conſecrated, and Hoper. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop publiſheth his Book againſt Gardiner.

Cranmer publiſheth his book of the Sacrament. His firſt book of that ſubject. Wrote againſt by Gardiner and Smith. Vindicated in another book by the Archbiſhop. The method Anno 1551.

of the Archbiſhop's reply. The judgments made of this book. How the Archbiſhop came off from the opinion of the corporal preſence. The Archbiſhop's great ſkill in controverſy. Peter Martyr enlightened by Cranmer. Fox's conjecture of the Archbiſhop. A ſecond book of Gardiner againſt the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop begins a third book. Martyr takes up the quarrel. Cranmer puts out his book of the Sacrament in Latin. Printed again at Embden. Cranmer's ſecond book intended to be put into Latin. Some notes of Cranmer concerning the ſacrament. Martyr ſucceeds Cranmer in this province. Writes againſt Gardiner, and Smith.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerſet's Death.

Anno 1551. *The Duke of Somerſet's death. Wincheſter ſuppoſed to be in the plot. Articles againſt the Duke. What he is blamed for. The new book of Common Prayer eſtabliſhed. Coverdale made Biſhop of Exon. Scory Biſhop elect of Rocheſter. The Archbiſhop appoints a guardian of the ſpiritualties of Lincoln; and of Wigorn; and of Chicheſter; and of Hereford; and of Bangor. Hoper viſits his dioceſe. Two diſputations concerning the ſacrament. Dr. Redman dies. The Archbiſhop and others appointed to reform eccleſiaſtical laws. The method they obſerved. Scory, Coverdale, conſecrated.*

CHAP. XXVII.

The Articles of Religion.

Anno 1552. *The Articles of Religion framed and publiſhed. The Archbiſhop's diligence in them. The Archbiſhop retires to Ford.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Perſons nominated for Iriſh Biſhopricks.

Anno 1552. *Conſulted with for fit perſons to fill the Iriſh ſees. Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the arch-*

biſhoprick of Armagh. Mr. Whithead; Mr. Turner; Thomas Raſſe, or Roſe; Robert Wiſdome. The character the Archbiſhop gave of the two former. Turner deſigned for Armagh: but declines it. Goodacre made Archbiſhop of Armagh. Letters from the council to Ireland, recommending the Iriſh biſhops.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Archbiſhop charged with Covetouſneſs.

A rumour given out of the Archbiſhop's covetouſneſs and wealth: which Cecyl ſends him word of. The Archbiſhop's anſwer for himſelf and the other biſhops. This very ſlander raiſed upon him to King Henry. King Henry promiſed him lands. This promiſe performed by King Edward. His purchaſes. The archbiſhoprick fleeced by King Henry. Lands paſſed away to the crown by exchange. Lands made over to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop parted alſo with Knol and Otford to the King. What moved him to make theſe exchanges. His cares and fears for the King. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXX.

His Care for the Vacancies. Falls ſick.

His care for filling the vacancies of the church. Laboured under an ague this autumn. The great mortality of agues about this time. That which moſt concerned him in his ſickneſs. The Secretary ſends the Archbiſhop the copy of the Emperor's pacification. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXXI.

His kindneſs for Germany.

His kindneſs for Germany. His correſpondence with Germany; and with Herman Archbiſhop of Colen. The ſuitableneſs of both theſe Archbiſhops' diſpoſitions. Their diligence in reforming. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

Anno 1552. *The troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal. The cauſes of this Biſhop's puniſhment. A bill in parliament to attaint Tonſtal. The care of the dioceſe committed to the Dean.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbiſhop in Kent.

Anno 1552. *The new Common Prayer began to be uſed. This book put into French for the King's French ſubjects. The age ſtill vicious. A new ſect in Kent. The Archbiſhop's buſineſs in Kent. A letter for inſtalling Biſhop Hoper. The Vicar of Beden. Sampſon and Knox. The council favour Knox. John Taylor conſecrated.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechiſm. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the excluſion of the Lady Mary.

Anno 1553. *Great uſe made of the Archbiſhop at council. The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority. The Catechiſm for ſchools. A Catechiſm ſet forth by the ſynod. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the new ſettlement of the crown. Denieth before the council to ſubſcribe to the excluſion of the Lady Mary. Sets his hand. The Archbiſhop ungratefully dealt with. The council ſubſcribe and ſwear to the limited ſucceſſion.*

CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

Anno 1553. *The King dies. His character. The Archbiſhop delights in this Prince's proficiency. King Edward's writings. The King's memorial for religion. The Archbiſhop frequent at council. His preſence in the council in the year* 1550. *In the year* 1551. *In the year* 1552. *And* 1553. *John Harley conſecrated Biſhop.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary ſoon recognized. The Archbiſhop ſlandered and impriſoned.

The Archbiſhop's and counſellors concern with the Lady Jane. Anno 1553. *They declare for Queen Mary: and write to Northumberland to lay down his arms. The Queen owned by the ambaſſadors. The Archbiſhop miſreported to have ſaid maſs at Canterbury. Which he makes a public declaration againſt. The declaration. Appears before the commiſſioners at Paul's: and before the council. The Archbiſhop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods ſeized: at Batterſea, at Cawood. Gardiner's paſſage of the two Archbiſhops.*

CHAP. II.

Proteſtant Biſhops and Clergy caſt into Priſons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour. The proteſtant biſhops de- Anno 1553. *prived. The hard uſage of the inferior clergy. Profeſſors caſt into the Marſhalſea. Wincheſter's aims. Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin. The ſtate of the church now. The Queen leaves all matters to Wincheſter. The Queen crowned. The ſervice ſtill ſaid. The Queen's proclamation of her religion. Signs of a change of religion.*

CHAP. III.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth Profeſſors to fly.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth to flight. Cranmer will not fly. Anno 1553. *Whither the profeſſors fly: and who. Duke of Northumberland put to death. His ſpeech. Sir John Gates his ſpeech; and Palmer's. The Duke labours to get his life. Whether he was always a Papiſt.*

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

Anno 1553. *Peter Martyr departs. Malice towards him. A ſcandal of the Queen. A parliament. The parliament repeal Queen Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.*

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop attainted.

Anno 1553. *The Archbiſhop attainted of treaſon. The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy. The Archbiſhop ſues for pardon of treaſon. Obtains it. He deſires to open his mind to the Queen concerning religion.*

CHAP. VI.

A Convocation.

Anno 1553. *A convocation. How it opened. The Archbiſhop and three more crowded together in the Tower.*

CHAP. VII.

The Queen ſends to Cardinal Pole.

Anno 1553. *The Queen ſends to Pole. The contents of her letters. Concerning the ſupremacy. Concerning the new biſhops. Pole's advice to the Queen. Inſtructions to Goldwel. Diſguſts his ſtop. Sends to Rome about this his ſtop: and to the Emperor. His judgment of two late acts of Parliament.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.

Anno 1553. *The married clergy deprived and divorced. Married prieſts in London cited to appear. Interrogatories for the married clergy. Turner's confeſſion. Boner deprives the married clergy in London without order. Married prebendaries in Canterbury proceeded againſt. Edmund Cranmer deprived of all. The injuſtice of theſe proceedings. Martin's book*

againſt prieſts' marriage. Wherein Wincheſter had the greateſt hand. Anſwered by Poynet. The confeſſions of the married prieſts. Married prieſts that did their penance hardly dealt with.

CHAP. IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

A twofold evil upon this turn of religion. The diſſimulation of the prieſts. A parliament reſtore the Pope. A deſign to revive the ſix Articles. Anno 1558.

CHAP. X.

Archbiſhop Cranmer diſputes at Oxon.

A convocation appoint a diſpute with Cranmer at Oxford. The queſtions. Sent to Cambridge. The diſputants of Oxford and Cambridge. Cranmer brought before them. His behaviour. Ridley brought: and Latimer. Cranmer brought to his diſputation. His notaries. Cranmer's demands. Cranmer diſputes again. The Papiſts' indecent management of the diſputation. The Proteſtants glad of this diſputation. Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their diſputations. Ridley pens the relation of his diſputation. The Univerſity ſends the diſputations up to the Convocation. Various copies of theſe diſputations. Anno 1554.

CHAP. XI.

Cranmer condemned for an Heretick.

Cranmer condemned for hereſy. Cranmer writes to the council. Diſputation intended at Cambridge. Their condition after condemnation. Their employment in priſon. Other works of Ridley in priſon. Anno 1554.

CHAP. XII.

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

The Queen's letters, directing the elections of parliament-men. Anno 1554.

Pole comes over. The Cardinal abſolves parliament and convocation. The clergy again wait upon the Legate. A commiſſion granted by him againſt hereticks. His commiſſions to all the biſhops to reconcile their dioceſes. The commiſſion to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. The Legate's inſtructions to the biſhops. Pole a ſevere perſecutor.

CHAP. XIII.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

Anno 1554. *A convocation. Articles preſented to the Upper Houſe. Cranmer's book to be burnt. Men burnt to death without law.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Condition of the Proteſtants in priſon. Free-willers.

Anno 1554. *Popery fully eſtabliſhed. Proteſtants. The paſtors in priſon. Free-willers. Bradford's concern with them. His kindneſs to them. Bradford gaineth ſome of them. Careleſs's pains with them. Philpot's counſel. Careleſs draws up a confeſſion of faith. Some few Arians. The priſoners offer to juſtify King Edward's proceedings. And again offer it.*

CHAP. XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

Anno 1554. *The exiles. The Lutherans refuſe to give harbour to them. The Engliſh at Weſel. The Lutherans' heat againſt Sacramentaries. At Zurick and other places well received. Their employments. Contentions at Frankford. Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans. Pieces of Ridley's writings conveyed to Frankford. Exiles at Baſil. Divers of the exiles writers. Scory, Old, Sampſon, Turner, Juel, Becon, Humfrey, Traheron. Fox: his Acts and Monuments. Books by him publiſhed in exile. Tranſlates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin. Letter to Fox. Bale, Knox. How the exiles ſubſiſted.*

CHAP. XVI.

Many recant. Some go to Maſs.

Many recant. The perſecution hot. Goſpellers go to maſs. Anno 1554. *Bradford labours to hinder it. Ann Hartipol goes to maſs. The Lady Vane puts certain caſes concerning the maſs.*

CHAP. XVII.

A Bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

Many burned. Inſtructions to the juſtices. Orders ſent into Anno 1555. *Norfolk againſt the profeſſors. The effect thereof. The Earl of Suſſex receiveth information againſt ſome. Popiſh ſpies ſet every where. The Proteſtants frequently aſſemble. Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born. The Queen's great belly. Like a deſign. The Queen's zeal. A convocation.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

Some petition the Queen for Cranmer. He ſeeth Ridley and Anno 1555. *Latimer going to their burning. Latimer's character. Cranmer's employment in priſon. Report of the Queen's death.*

CHAP. XIX.

The laſt proceedings with Cranmer.

Proceedings againſt Cranmer. Martin acts as the Queen's Anno 1555. *proctor. Cranmer's greateſt trouble at this time. Interrogatories put to him; with his anſwers. Witneſſes ſworn againſt him. Cited to Rome. The Pope's letters againſt him. The proceſs againſt him at Rome. The Pope's letters read. They degrade him. He appeals. He is ill dealt with in his proceſs. The reaſons of his appeal. He preſſeth his appeal.*

CHAP. XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

Anno 1555. *Writes two letters to the Queen. The contents of the firſt. The contents of his ſecond letter. The Bailiff of Oxford carries his letters. Cardinal Pole anſwereth them. Some account of the Cardinal's letter to Cranmer. Another letter of the Cardinal to Cranmer.*

CHAP. XXI.

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

Anno 1555. *He recants. Notwithſtanding his burning is ordered. A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death. Cranmer brought to St. Mary's. Cole's ſermon. Turns his ſpeech to Cranmer. After ſermon all pray for him. His penitent behaviour. Speaks to the auditory. He prayeth. His words before his death. Confeſſeth his diſſembling. His reply to my Lord Williams. Goes to the place of his burning. His talk and behaviour at the ſtake. He burneth his right hand. Two remarks upon his martyrdom. Who inſtigated the Queen to put him to death. No monument for him but his martyrdom. His heart unconſumed. The Bailiffs' expences about theſe three martyrs. The Bailiffs not repaid. Humfrey to Archbiſhop Parker in their behalf.*

CHAP. XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

His books and writings. His firſt book. Other of his writings. His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament. Other writings mentioned by Biſhop Burnet. More of his writings ſtill. Archbiſhop Parker was in purſuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed. What the ſubject of his numerous writings were.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbiſhop's Regard to learned Men.

Paul Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his

means. Procures them honorary ſtipends from the King. Allowances to Peter Martyr and Ochin. Dr. Mouſe, Maſter of Trinity Hall, favoured by Cranmer. His inconſtancy; and ingratitude. Becomes Reader of the Civil Law at Oxon. The Archbiſhop a patron to learned foreigners. To Eraſmus, allowing him an honorary penſion. To Alexander Aleſs, a Scotchman. By him Melanćthon ſends a book to the Archbiſhop; and to the King. Aleſs brought by Crumwel into the convocation: where he aſſerts two ſacraments only. Writes a book to clear Proteſtants of the charge of ſchiſm. Tranſlated a book of Bucer's about the Engliſh miniſtry. Received into Crumwel's family. Aleſs Profeſſor of divinity at Leipzig. Four others recommended by Melanćthon to the Archbiſhop: viz. Gualter, Dryander. Dryander placed at Oxon. Euſebius Menius. Juſtus Jonas.

CHAP. XXIV.

Melanćthon and the Archbiſhop great Friends.

Divers memorable paſſages between Melanćthon and our Archbiſhop. Sends Melanćthon certain public diſputations in Oxford and Cambridge. Melanćthon's reflections thereupon. Sends the Archbiſhop his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed. The beginning of their acquaintance. The Archbiſhop propounds a weighty matter to Melanćthon for the union of all Proteſtant churches. The diligence of the Archbiſhop in forwarding this deſign. Melanćthon's judgment and approbation thereof. His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expreſſions. Renews the ſame caution in another letter. Peter Martyr of this judgment. What Melanćthon thought of the doćtrine of fate.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop correſponds with Calvin.

The Archbiſhop breaks his purpoſe alſo to Calvin. Calvin's approbation thereof, and commendation of the Archbiſhop. Offers his ſervice. Excites the Archbiſhop to proceed. This excellent purpoſe fruſtrated. Thinks of drawing up articles

of religion for the Engliſh church. Which he communicates to Calvin. And Calvin's reply and exhortation. Blames him for having not made more progreſs in the reformation. But not juſtly. The clergy preach againſt ſacrilege. The Univerſity-men declaim againſt it in the ſchools. And the redreſs urged upon ſome at court. Calvin ſends letters, and certain of his books, to the King. Well taken by the King and council. What the Archbiſhop told the meſſenger hereupon.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Archbiſhop highly valued Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr and the Archbiſhop cordial friends. The uſe the Archbiſhop made of him. Martyr ſaw the voluminous writings and marginal notes of the Archbiſhop. Two letters of Martyr from Oxford. An inſtance of his love to the Archbiſhop.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Archbiſhop's Favour to John Sleidan the Hiſtorian.

The Archbiſhop's favour to John Sleidan. Procures him a penſion from the King. The payment neglected. Sleidan labours with the Archbiſhop to get the penſion confirmed by letters patents. Sends his Commentaries to the King. Deſigns to write the hiſtory of the Council of Trent: for the King's uſe. Sends the King a ſpecimen thereof. In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries, deſires Cecyl to ſend him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. Bucer writes to Cecyl in behalf of Sleidan. John Leland.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

His wives and children. His wife ſurvived him. Divers Cranmers. The Archbiſhop's ſtock. Aſſaction. Whatton.

The rectories whereof the Archbiſhop purchaſed. His chaplains. Rowland Taylor. His epitaph. A ſermon preached the day after his burning; wherein the martyr is groſsly ſlandered. John Ponet. Thomas Becon. Richard Harman.

CHAP. XXIX.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Officers.

Robert Watſon, the Archbiſhop's ſteward. His ſecretary, Ralph Morice. His parentage. Well known to divers eminent biſhops. Preſents Turner to Chartham. And ſtands by him in his troubles for his faithful preaching. An inſtance of the Archbiſhop's kindneſs to this his Secretary. Morice his ſuit to Queen Elizabeth for a penſion. His ſecond ſuit to the Queen to confirm certain lands deſcended to him from his father. He was Regiſter to the commiſſioners in King Edward's viſitation. Suffered under Queen Mary. Morice ſupplied Fox with many material notices in his book. Morice a cordial friend to Latimer.

CHAP. XXX

A Proſpect of the Archbiſhop's Qualities.

Morice's declaration concerning the Archbiſhop. His temperance of nature. His carriage towards his enemies. Severe in his behaviour towards offending Proteſtants. Stout in God's or the King's cauſe. The King ſides with Cranmer againſt all the biſhops. His great ability in anſwering the King's doubts. Cranmer ſtudied three parts of the day. Would ſpeak to the King when none elſe durſt. Lady Mary. Queen Katharine Howard. His hoſpitality. Falſely accuſed of ill houſekeeping.

CHAP. XXXI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer preſerved the Revenues of his See.

The preſerving the biſhops' revenues owing to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop vindicated about his leaſes. By long leaſes he ſaved the revenues. Juſtified from diminiſhing the rents

of the ſee. Otford and Knol. Curleſwood and Chiſlet-Park. Paſture and meadow. Woods. Corn. The beſt maſter towards his ſervants. An infamy that he was an hoſtler.

CHAP. XXXII.

Some Obſervations upon Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Obſervations upon the Archbiſhop. His learning very profound. His library. An excellent biſhop. His care of his own dioceſe. At the great towns he preached often. Affected not his high ſtyles. His diligence in reforming religion. Puts King Henry upon a purpoſe of reforming many things. The King again purpoſeth a reformation. His influence upon King Edward.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Archbiſhop Cranmer procures the Uſe of the Scriptures.

A great ſcripturiſt. Procures the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible. The biſhops oppoſe it. The firſt edition of the Bible. The Preface to the Bible made by the Archbiſhop. The contents thereof. The frontiſpiece of Cranmer's edition of the Bible.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Archbiſhop Cranmer compaſſionate towards ſufferers for Religion.

His affection and compaſſion towards profeſſors of the Goſpel. Particularly for Sir John Cheke, a priſoner; and the Lord Ruſſel. A patron to ſuch as preached the Goſpel in King Henry's days. His ſuccour of afflicted ſtrangers in King Edward's days. England harbourous of ſtrangers. The Archbiſhop's favour to foreigners. Unjuſtly charged with covetouſneſs. His words to Cecyl upon this charge. Reduced, as he feared, to ſtark beggary before his death.

CHAP. XXXV.

Some Account of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Houſekeeping.

Some account of his houſekeeping. Retrenches the clergy's ſuperfluous houſekeeping. His pious deſign therein. Others charged him with prodigality.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer humble; peaceable; bold in a good cauſe.

Humble and condeſcending. Peaceable and mild. His ſpeech upon the news of wars abroad. Unacquainted with the arts of court-flattery. Would never crouch to Northumberland. He and Ridley fall under that Duke's diſpleaſure. Bold and undaunted in God's cauſe. Falſely charged with cowardice, and too much flexibility. Of ardent affections. Cranmer compared with Cardinal Wolſey.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Oſiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbiſhop.

Oſiander's character of the Archbiſhop. And Peter Martyr's. Bale's character of the Archbiſhop. The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Archbiſhop vindicated from Slanders of Papiſts.

A lying character of this Archbiſhop by a late French author. Allen's calumny of the Archbiſhop. Wiped off. Cleared from his charge of apoſtaſy. Saunders's falſehoods of the Archbiſhop. Parſons his compliments to the Archbiſhop, Fox in behalf of Cranmer. The concluſion.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Cranmer's Birth, Education, and Rise.

THE name of this most reverend prelate deserves to stand upon eternal record; having been the first protestant Archbishop of this kingdom, and the greatest instrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England: in whose piety, learning, wisdom, conduct, and blood, the foundation of it was laid. And therefore it will be no unworthy work to revive his memory now, though after an hundred and thirty years and upwards. I pretend not to write a complete narrative of his life and death, that being scarce possible at such a distance of time, and in the want of full intelligence and information of the various matters that passed through his hands, and the events that befel him. All that I attempt by this present undertaking is, to retrieve and bring to light as many historical passages as I can, concerning this holy prelate; by a careful and long search, not only into printed books of history, but the best archives, and many most precious and inestimable manuscripts that have fallen into my hands. A worthy work to revive his memory.

I shall pass over, in a few words, his earlier days, because I have so much to say of him in his riper years. Aslacton, a town in the county of Nottingham, was the place of his birth; and the second day of July, in the year 1489, was the day His family.

BOOK I. Anno 1489.

of it. He was the ſon of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq. a gentleman of a right ancient family; whoſe anceſtor came in with the Conqueror: and for a long ſeries of time the ſtock continued in good wealth and quality; as it did in France; for there were extant of his name and family there, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. One whereof came then into England, in company with the French ambaſſador: to whom, for relation-ſake, our biſhop gave a noble entertainment.

Account of his younger years.

Our youth was put to learn his grammar of a rude pariſh-clerk in that barbarous age: under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harſh and curſt diſpoſition of his ſchoolmaſter. Though his father were minded to have his ſon educated in learning, yet he would not he ſhould be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exerciſes: inſomuch that he uſed himſelf to ſhoot. And many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horſes: ſo that when he was biſhop, he feared not to ride the roughеſt horſes that came into his ſtables; which he would do very comely. As otherwiſe at all times there was not any in his houſe that would become an horſe better. And after his ſtudies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And ſometimes he would ſhoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his croſs-bow, though his ſight was not perfect; for he was poreblind.

Life of Cranmer in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

Sent to Cambridge, anno 1503.

But to return to his younger days. He loſt his father early; but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno 1503, ſent him to ſtudy at Cambridge: where he was nurſled in the groſſeſt kind of ſophiſtry, logic, philoſophy moral and natural: not in the text of the old philoſophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other ſubtile queſtioniſts. And in theſe he loſt his time, till he came to two and twenty years of age. After that, he gave himſelf to the reading of Faber, Eraſmus, good Latin authors, four or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then, conſidering what great controverſy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefeſt articles of our ſalvation, he bent himſelf to try out the truth herein.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1511.

Anno 1516.

CHAP. I.

And forasmuch as he perceived he could not judge indifferently in such weighty matters, without the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; therefore, before he was infected with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study three years therein. After this, he gave his mind to good writers, both new and old: not rashly running over them; for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part, or the other, of things in controversy, he wrote it out, if it were short, or at least noted the author, and the place, that he might find it, and write it out at leisure: which was a great help to him in debating of matters ever after.

Sets himself to study the Scripture, anno 1519.

This kind of study he used till he was made doctor of divinity: which was about the thirty-fourth year of his age, and about the year 1523.

Is made doctor of divinity, anno 1523.

But before this, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, he married a gentleman's daughter. And then leaving the college, he read the common lecture in Buckingham College; before that called Monks College, because Monks studied there: but now Magdalen College. But in a year after his wife travailing with child, both she and the child died. And being now single again, immediately the master and fellows of his old college chose him in fellow again: where he remained.

Marries.

During his residence here, divers of the ripest and solidest sort of scholars were sought out of this university of Cambridge, to be transplanted into Cardinal Wolsey's new college in Oxon, to be fellows there. Our Cranmer was nominated for one by Dr. Capon, to whom that matter was, as it seems, intrusted by the Cardinal. And though the salary was much more considerable there, and the way to preferment more ready, by the favour of the Cardinal, to such as were his own scholars; yet he refused to go, choosing rather to abide among his old fellow-collegians, and more closely to follow his studies and contemplations here: though he were not without danger for his incompliance with this invitation, giving them that were concerned great offence hereat. But of those that went from Cambridge at this time, who were all men picked out for their parts and learn-

Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon.

BOOK I.

ing, theſe were the chief: Clark; Friar, afterwards doctor of phyſic; Sumner; Harman, afterwards fellow of Eaton; Betts, afterwards chaplain to Queen Ann; Cox, afterwards ſchoolmaſter to King Edward; Frith, afterwards a martyr; Baily; Godman; Drum, afterwards one of the ſix preachers at Canterbury; Lawney, afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. All theſe were caſt into priſon for ſuſpicion of hereſy; and divers through the hardſhip thereof died. So that well it was for Cranmer that he went not.

He is made one of the univerſity examiners.

Soon after he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and became the reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college. And out of the value the univerſity had of his learning, he was appointed one of the examiners of ſuch as commenced bachelors and doctors in divinity: according to whoſe approbations, the univerſity allowed them to proceed. In which place he did much good; for he uſed to examine theſe candidates out of the Scriptures; and by no means would let them paſs, if he found they were unſkilful in it, and unacquainted with the hiſtory of the Bible. So were the Friars eſpecially, whoſe ſtudy lay only in ſchool authors: whom therefore he ſometimes turned back as inſufficient, adviſing them to ſtudy the Scriptures for ſome years longer, before they came for their degrees; it being a ſhame for a profeſſor in divinity to be unſkilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himſelf from the beginning hated by the Friars: yet ſome of the more ingenuous ſort of them afterward rendered him great and public thanks for refuſing them; whereby, being put upon the ſtudy of God's word, they attained to more ſound knowledge in religion. One of theſe was Dr. Barat, a white Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

The King's great cauſe firſt propoſed to the univerſities.

Not long after this, King Henry being perſuaded that the marriage between him and Queen Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand of Spain, was unlawful and naught, by Dr. Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, his confeſſor, and other of his Clergy; he ſent to ſix of the beſt learned men of Cambridge, and as many of Oxford, to debate this queſtion, *Whether it were lawful for one brother to marry his brother's wife, being known of his brother?* Of the which Cambridge

doctors, Cranmer was appointed for one; such was his fame then in that university for learning. But because he was not then at Cambridge, another was chosen in his stead. These learned men agreed fully, with one consent, that it was lawful, with the Pope's dispensation, so to do. But if Cranmer had been there, he would have been of another mind, as we shall see in the sequel. CHAP. I.

This great matrimonial cause gave the first step to Dr. Cranmer's preferment: for when Fox and Gardiner, the one the King's almoner, and the other his secretary, lighting by chance in Dr. Cranmer's company, at one Mr. Cressie's house, situate in Waltham-Abbey parish in Essex, had on design fallen upon discourse of that matter, purposely to learn his judgment therein, knowing him an eminent noted reader of divinity in Cambridge; he gave his own sense of the cause, in words to this effect: "I have nothing at all studied," said he, "for the verity of this cause; nor am beaten there-"in, as you have been. Howbeit, I do think that you go "not the next way to work, to bring the matter unto a per-"fect conclusion and end, especially for the satisfaction of "the troubled conscience of the King's highness. For in "observing the common process, and frustratory delays of "these your courts, the matter will linger long enough; "and peradventure in the end come to small effect. And "this is most certain," said he, "there is but one truth in it; "which no men ought, or better can discuss than the "divines: whose sentence may be soon known, and brought "so to pass with little industry and charges, that the King's "conscience may thereby be quieted and pacified. Which "we all ought to consider, and regard in this question or "doubt; and then his highness, in conscience quieted, may "determine himself that which shall seem good before God. "And let these tumultuary processes give place unto a cer-"tain truth."

The occasion of his rise.

His opinion of the King's cause. Life of Cranmer, in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

His opinion, thus unwillingly drawn from him, was so much liked of by them to whom he spake it, that they thought it worth their acquainting the King with it: which they did within two days after at Greenwich. Whereupon the King commanded he should be sent for to the court. Which was done, and he brought into the King's presence.

The King sends for him.

BOOK I. Who, having heard him diſcourſe upon the marriage, and well obſerving the gravity and modeſty, as well as learning of the man, reſolved to cheriſh and make much of him. This Anno 1529. was about Auguſt 1529, the King having commanded him to digeſt in writing, what he could ſay upon the foreſaid argument; retained him, and committed him unto the family and care of the Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, named Sir Thomas Bolen, dwelling then at Durham houſe: eſteeming him a fit perſon for Cranmer to reſide with, who had himſelf been employed in embaſſies to Rome and Germany about the ſame matter; and ſo able to inſtruct our divine in particular paſſages relating thereunto: and likewiſe would be ſure to afford him all the ſecurity, and favour, and aid poſſible, from the proſpect, that if the King's former marriage could be proved unlawful, and thereby null and void, his own family would be in a fair probability to be highly advanced, by the King's matching with his daughter the Lady Ann Bolen.

Suitably placed with the Earl of Ormond.

Nor was Cranmer unſuitably placed here, in regard of the diſpoſition of his noble hoſt; being accounted one of the learnedeſt noblemen in the land, and endued with a mind inclined to philoſophy. Eraſmus, who had good intelligence in England, and knew this Earl himſelf, gives this account of him to Damianus à Goes: *Eſt enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philoſophico.* He was alſo much addicted to the ſtudy and love of the holy Scriptures, as the ſame Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to him mentioneth, and commendeth him for: *I do the more congratulate your happineſs, when I obſerve the ſacred Scriptures to be ſo dear to a man, as you are, of power, one of the laity, and a courtier; and that you have ſuch a deſire to that pearl of price.* He was alſo a patron of learning and learned men: and if there were nothing elſe to teſtify this, it would be enough to ſay, that he was well affected to the great Eraſmus, and a true valuer of his ſtudies. The world is beholden to this noble peer for ſome of the labours that proceeded from the pen of that moſt learned man. For upon his deſire Eraſmus wrote three tracts; one was, Enarrations upon the twenty-ſecond Pſalm, intituled, *Dominus regit me;* but more truly the twenty-third. Another was, an

Epiſt. 19. lib. 27.

Impenſius gratulor tuæ fœlicitati, quod homini potenti, laico, et aulico, perſpiciam etiam ſacras literas eſſe cordi, teque nobilis illius margaritæ deſiderio teneri. Epiſt. 34. lib. 29.

Explication of the Apoſtles' Creed. And the third, Directions how to prepare for Death. And from theſe ſubjects, which this nobleman choſe to deſire Eraſmus his thoughts of, we may conclude alſo his pious and religious mind. All which his virtuous accompliſhments, as they rendered his houſe a ſuitable harbour for the learned and pious Cranmer, ſo they were not a little increaſed by his converſe and familiarity there. CHAP. I.

For while Cranmer abode here, a great friendſhip was contracted between him and that noble family; eſpecially the chief members of it, the Counteſs, and the Lady Ann, and the Earl himſelf; who often held ſerious conferences with him about the great matter. And in the Earl's abſence from home, letters paſſed between them; Cranmer writing to him of the affairs of the court, and of the welfare of his family, as well as of other more weighty things. In one letter, dated from Hampton-Court, in the month of June, (which by circumſtance muſt be in the year 1530,) he writ to him, "That the King's grace, my Lady his wife, my Lady "Ann his daughter, were in good health: and that the "King, and my Lady Ann, rode the day before to Windſor "from Hampton-Court, and that night they were looked "for again there; praying God to be their guide." Friendſhip and correſpondence between the Earl and Cranmer. Anno 1530.

And I cannot look upon this pious and learned man's placing here in this family, but as guided by a peculiar hand of divine providence. Whereby this houſe became better acquainted with the knowledge of the Goſpel; and had the ſeeds of true religion ſcattered in the hearts of thoſe noble perſons that were related to it; particularly of her, who was afterwards to be advanced to that high and public ſtation, to be conſort to the King. And that ſhe became a favourer, and, as much as ſhe durſt, a promoter of the purer religion, muſt, I think, in a great meaſure be owing thereunto. A providence in his being placed here.

When Cranmer had accompliſhed the King's requeſt, and finiſhed his book, he himſelf, the ſecretary, and the almoner, and other learned men, had in commiſſion to diſpute the cauſe in queſtion in both the univerſities. Which being firſt attempted at Cambridge, Dr. Cranmer, by his authority, learning, and perſuaſion, brought over divers Cranmer diſputes at Cambridge. MS. life of Cranmer.

BOOK I.

learned men in one day, of the contrary part and opinion, to be on his part. For being now, after ſome abſence, returned to Cambridge, divers of the univerſity, and ſome of thoſe doctors that before had given in their judgments to the King for the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation, repaired to him, to know his opinion: and, after long reaſoning, he changed the minds of five of the ſix. Then almoſt in every diſputation, both in private houſes, and in the common ſchools, this was one queſtion, *Whether the Pope might diſpenſe with the brother to marry the brother's wife, after carnal knowledge?* And it was of many openly defended, that he might not. The ſecretary, when he came home, acquainted the King with what they had done, and how Dr. Cranmer had changed the minds of five of the ſaid learned men of Cambridge, and of many others beſide. Afterward this univerſity, as well as the other, determined the King's cauſe againſt the Pope's diſpenſation.

Grows dear to the King and his court.

Life of Henr. VIII. p. 375.

From an academic, our doctor being now become a courtier, he ſo prudently demeaned himſelf, that he was not only dear to the Earl of Wiltſhire's family, but grew much favoured by the nobility in general; as the Lord Herbert collects from the hiſtorians of thoſe times; and eſpecially by the King himſelf. He was very much about him, the King holding frequent communication with him, and ſeemed unwilling to have him abſent. Which may appear from hence; that when Cranmer was minded for ſome reaſon to reſort to the Earl of Wiltſhire, who was then from Hampton-Court, and as it ſeems at London, upon ſome occaſions of his own, he doubted whether the King would let him go. And ſo he writ to him, that he would come the next day to him, *if the King's Grace let him not.*

CHAP. II.

Pole's Book about the King's Matrimony.

Anno 1530. Pole's book againſt the King's diſſolving his marriage.

ABOUT this time a book of Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal, earneſtly perſuading the King to continue his marriage with his Queen, fell into Dr. Cranmer's hands. I do not find mention of this book in any hiſtorian, that hath

come to my hands. No, not in his life publiſhed by Bacatellus, Biſhop of Raguſa, though he hath there given us a catalogue of his books. But in likelihood the reaſon was, becauſe this was ſome private diſcourſe, or letter, chiefly intended for the King's own uſe; as appears from ſome words of Cranmer concerning it, *viz.* "That it was writ with "that eloquence, that if it were ſet forth, and known to the "common people, [an evidence it was a more private writ-"ing,] it were not poſſible to perſuade them to the contrary." It was penned about the year 1530, as may be collected from another paſſage in the ſaid writing, wherein he mentioneth the King's living in wedlock with Queen Katharine twenty years, the expiration of which fell in about that time. What induced Pole to write on this ſubject is to me uncertain; for he avoided, as much as could be, to meddle in this affair, out of fear of the King's diſpleaſure, which was the reaſon of his departing abroad. Probably it was at the King's command; like as ſome years after he commanded him to write his judgment of the title of *Supreme Head*, which he had lately aſſumed. Which occaſioned Pole's four books of Eccleſiaſtical Unity. For ſome about the King had told him, it would have a great influence upon the people, eſpecially the nobility, if he could bring Pole over to allow and approve of his marriage: who was a perſon, though then but young, yet highly valued in the nation for his piety, and learning, and great deſcent. CHAP. II. Anno 1530.

The book was ſoon delivered, whether by the Earl of Wiltſhire, or the King himſelf, unto the examination and conſideration of Cranmer, now the great court divine: who, after he had greedily peruſed it, ſent the contents of it in a letter to his friend and patron the Earl, being then abſent from court. The book, though the argument of it chiefly depended upon divinity, proceeded more on political principles than divine. Take the following account of it, as Cranmer gave it in his ſaid letter. Cranmer peruſes it.

Firſt, Pole treated of the danger of diverſity of titles to the crown; which might follow, if the preſent marriage with Queen Katharine were rejected, (in which there was an heir,) and another conſummated: as appeared by the titles and pretenſions of the two houſes of Lancaſter and His account of it.

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

York. And that the King ought to provide againſt the miſeries that might be brought upon his realm by the people, if he ſhould reject his daughter, whom they took for his lawful heir, and ſhould perſuade them to take another. Then he urged the danger of incurring the Emperor's diſpleaſure, the Queen being his aunt, and the princeſs his couſin. Then he proceeded to conſider the reaſons that moved the King to his preſent reſolutions; namely, that God's law forbad marrying the brother's wife: and that the people, however averſe at firſt, (beſides that it belonged not to them to judge of ſuch matters,) would be content in the King's doings, when they ſhould know how the ancient doctors of the church and ſo many great univerſities were on the King's ſide. And, that however the Emperor might fall out with the King for this matter, yet God would never fail thoſe that ſtood on his part, and refuſed to tranſgreſs his commandments: and that England might depend on the French King's aid, by virtue of the league, which he had entered into with the King, and the old grudge, which he bore towards the Emperor. Afterwards Pole goes on to review theſe reaſons. And firſt, his judgment was, that Scripture might be brought to juſtify this marriage, and that there was as good ground of Scripture for that, as for the part which the King then took, namely, the unlawfulneſs of it. That if indeed he thought the King's part was juſt, and that his marriage were undoubtedly againſt God's pleaſure, then he could not deny, but that it ſhould be well done for the King to refuſe it, and take another wife. Yet he confeſſed, that, for his own part, he could not find in his heart to have any hand, or be any furtherer or abetter in it: acknowledging however, that he had no good reaſon for it, but only out of affection and duty to the King's perſon. Becauſe he would not diſannul the Princeſs his daughter's title, nor accuſe the moſt part of the King's life, as the books written on the King's part did: as though he had lived in a matrimony ſhameful, abominable, beſtial, and againſt nature. This ſeemed an high compliment of Pole's indeed, that he would rather chooſe to let the King live and die in an habitual breach of God's law, than be guilty of ſomething that might argue a want of civil affection and duty in him.

And as concerning the people, his judgment was, that neither by learning, nor preaching, would they ever be brought into an ill conceit of the King's former marriage, and to think ſo diſhonourably of their King, as to live ſo many years in matrimony ſo abominable. But as they had begun to hate prieſts, this would make them much more to do ſo: nay, and the very name of learning too. As for the authority of the univerſities, they were many times led by affection, which was well known: and he wiſhed they had never erred in their determinations. He ſhewed, that they were brought to the King's part with great difficulty. Moreover, againſt the univerſities' authority, he ſet the authority of the King's father and his council, the Queen's father and his council, and the Pope and his.

Then he proceeded to political conſiderations of the Pope, and Emperor, and the French King. That the Pope was a great adverſary of the King's purpoſe, he had ſhewed divers tokens already; and that not without cauſe. Becauſe if he ſhould conſent, he ſhould do againſt his predeceſſors, and reſtrain his own power, which he would rather gladly enlarge, and likewiſe raiſe ſeditions in many realms, as in Portugal: of whoſe King the Emperor married one ſiſter, and the Duke of Savoy the other. Then he went on extolling the Emperor's power, and leſſening that of the French King, as to his aiding of us: mentioning the miſchief the Emperor might do England, by forbidding only our trading into Flanders and Spain. That the French never uſed to keep their leagues with us, but for their own ends; and that we could never find in our hearts to truſt them: and that the two nations never loved one another. And that if the French ſhould but ſuſpect, that this new matrimony (of the King with the Lady Ann Bolen now purpoſed) ſhould not continue, we muſt not expect ſuccour of them, but upon intolerable conditions. And then laſtly, he comes to deliberate for the ſaving the King's honour. Which as it was impoſſible to do, if he proceeded one ſtep further, for he had already, he ſaid, gone to the very brink; ſo he began to propound certain means for the reſcue of it. Thus far is Cranmer's relation of the book.

But here he breaks off, the meſſenger that tarried for the

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

letter being in haſte: promiſing the next day to come to the Earl, to whom he wrote all this, and relate the reſt to him by word of mouth. Theſe means in ſhort were (as I collect from ſome other paſſages of this letter) to refer the matter wholly to the Pope, and to reject the thoughts of matching with the Lady Ann. The which was now much talked of; for the King and ſhe were very great, and about this very time they both rode together from Hampton-Court to Windſor: though ſhe were yet no more than the Lady Ann, without any other title.

Cranmer's cenſure thereof.

The cenſure which our divine gave of this book, and the writer, was this; (wherein his modeſty and candour, as well as judgment, appeared:) "that Pole had ſhewed himſelf both "witty and eloquent; and that, for his wiſdom, he might "have been of counſel to the King: and ſuch his rhetoric, "that if his book ſhould have been ſet forth, and known to "the common people, he believed it were not poſſible to per-"ſuade them to the contrary." Concerning that which he chiefly drove at, namely, that the King ſhould commit his great matter to the Pope's judgment, Cranmer gave his opinion, "that he ſeemed therein to lack much judgment: and that "though he preſſed it with ſuch goodly eloquence, both of "words and ſentence, that he were likely to perſuade many; "yet him," he ſaid, "he perſuaded in that point nothing at "all." No, Cranmer had too well ſtudied the point, to leave ſuch a caſe of conſcience to the Pope's deciſion. But in many other things in this diſcourſe of Pole, he profeſſed, he was much ſatisfied. I have placed this whole letter in the Appendix at the end of theſe Memorials, as I ſhall do many other letters and papers of value, partly for the ſatisfaction of more curious readers, that love to ſee originals, and partly for the preſervation of many choice monuments relating to this man and theſe times, and for the transferring them to poſterity.

Num. 1.

CHAP. III.

Cranmer's Embaſſies.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was ſent by the King into France, Italy, and Germany, with the Earl of Wiltſhire, chief ambaſſador, Dr. Lee, elect Archbiſhop of York, Dr. Stokeſly, elect of London, divines; Trigonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of the law; to diſpute theſe matrimonial matters of his Majeſty at Paris, Rome, and other places: carrying the book he had made upon that ſubject with him. From France they took their journey to the Pope; where Cranmer's book was delivered to him, and he ready to juſtify it, and to offer a diſpute againſt the marriage openly, upon theſe two points, which his book chiefly conſiſted of, *viz.*

Anno 1530. He is employed in embaſſies.

To the Pope.

Offers him a diſpute in favour of the King's cauſe.

I. That no man, *jure divino*, could, or ought to marry his brother's wife.

II. That the Biſhop of Rome by no means ought to diſpenſe to the contrary.

But after ſundry promiſes and appointments made, there was no man found to oppoſe him, and publicly to diſpute theſe matters with him. Yet in more private argumentations with them that were about the Pope, he ſo forced them, that at laſt they openly granted, even in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that the ſaid marriage was againſt God's law. But as for the Pope's power of diſpenſing with the laws of God, it was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. But Dr. Cranmer boldly and honeſtly denied it utterly before them all.

The King's ambaſſadors from the Pope repaired to the Emperor Charles V. Cranmer only being left behind at Rome, to make good his challenge, and withal, more privately to get the judgments and ſubſcriptions of the learned men there in the King's caſe: which was one of his buſineſſes alſo in Germany after. What he did in this latter affair, he ſignified by a letter to Crook, another of the King's agents for that purpoſe in Italy: namely, "That his ſucceſs there

Hiſt. R. for. P. i. p. 84.

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

"at Rome was but little: and that they dared not to attempt to know any man's mind, because of the Pope, who had said, that friars should not discuss his power. And added, that he looked for little favour in that court, but to have the Pope and all his cardinals declare against them."

To the Emperor.

Here at Rome Cranmer abode for some months. But in all the journey he behaved himself so learnedly, soberly, and wittily, that the Earl of Wilts gave him such commendations to the King by his letters, that the rest coming home, he sent him a commission with instructions to be his sole ambassador to the Emperor in his said great cause. Which commissional letters of the King to him bare date January 24, 1531. wherein he was stiled *Consiliarius Regius et ad Cæsarem Orator*. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, following the Emperor's court, by his conferences he fully satisfied many learned Germans, which afore were of a contrary judgment; and divers in the Emperor's own court and council also. One of the chiefest of these, and who suffered severely for it, was Cornelius Agrippa, Kt. doctor of both laws, judge of the prerogative court, and counsellor to the Emperor, and a man of deep learning: who confessed to the said ambassador, that the marriage was naught, but that he durst not say so openly, for fear both of the Pope and Emperor. Yet he was afterwards cast into prison, where he died, for expressing his mind, as was thought, somewhat more plainly in this affair.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1531.

Hist. Luther. per Seckendorf.

Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the King's cause.

Becomes acquainted with Osiander.

While he was now abroad in Germany, he went to Norimberg, where Osiander was pastor. And being a man of fame and learning, our ambassador became acquainted with him; sending for him sometimes to discourse with him: and sometimes he would go to Osiander's house, to visit him and his study. This eminent divine of the German protestant church he also gained to favour the King's cause. For he wrote a book of incestuous marriages, wherein he determined the King's present matrimony to be unlawful. But this book was called in by a prohibition, printed at Augsburgh. And there was also a form of a direction, drawn up by the same Osiander, how the King's process should be managed: which was sent over hither. Cranmer's discourse with Osi-

CHAP. III.

ander, at these their meetings, concerning divers matters relating especially to Christian doctrine, and true religion, were so wise and good, that that great divine stood in admiration of him, as though he had been inspired from above. In one of their conferences, Osiander communicated to him certain papers, wherein he had been attempting to harmonize the Gospels: but, by reason of the difficulty that often arose, had thrown them aside. A thing this was which Cranmer declared to him his great approbation of; as he was always a man greatly studious of the Scripture, and earnestly desirous that the right knowledge thereof might be increased. So he vehemently exhorted him to go forward in this study, and to finish it with all convenient speed: for that it would not only, he said, be of use to the church of Christ, but adorn it. These admonitions gave new strength to Osiander to fall afresh about this work, and at last to bring it to a conclusion. In the year 1537, he published it, and dedicated it to Cranmer, then archbishop, the great encourager of the author.

Anno 1531. *Multa graviter, multa sapienter, ac plane divinitus de Christiana doctrina, ac vera religione disputares.* In Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangel.

In some of these visits Cranmer saw Osiander's niece, and obtained her for his wife; whom, when he returned from his embassy, he brought not over with him: but in the year 1534 he privately sent for her; and kept her with him till the year 1539, in the severe time of the six articles; when he sent her back in secret to her friends in Germany for a time. By these visits, and this affinity, there grew a very cordial love between Cranmer and Osiander: and a great correspondence was maintained by letters between them long after. A parcel of these letters in manuscript, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Sarum mentioned in his History of the Reformation; which he met with in the exquisite library of Mr. Richard Smith, as he told a friend of mine. But notwithstanding my enquiry after them, I had not the good fortune to see them, nor to find into whose hands they were come, after the selling of that library by auction. Which letters, if I could have procured a sight of, might have served somewhat perhaps in this my undertaking.

And marries his kinswoman.

We are now slipped into the year 1532. And among other services which he did abroad, (besides his promoting the King's great matrimonial cause among the German princes and states, as well as others,) he was employed for

Anno 1532. Treats with the Emperor about the contract of marriage.

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring a traffic between the merchants of England, and the Emperor's Low Countries. Concerning which the former contract, it ſeems, began to ſhake, occaſioned by that lukewarmneſs of affection, that now grew between theſe two monarchs. About this affair our ambaſſador had divers conferences with Monſieur Grandeville, the Emperor's great miniſter at Regenſburgh. The effect of his laſt ſolicitation was, that Grandeville had told him that the diet concerning the ſaid contract was held in Flanders, where the Queen of Hungary was governeſs; and therefore that the Emperor would do nothing therein without her advice; and that he would make anſwer by her, rather than by him. And ſo Cranmer deſired the King, that it would pleaſe his grace no further to look for anſwer from him therein, but from the Queen, unto whom the whole anſwer was committed.

And about ſending ſupplies againſt the Turk.

Another buſineſs our ambaſſador was now agitating at this court for the King, was, about ſending ſupplies to the Emperor againſt the Turk; who had now made a formidable invaſion in Hungary, with an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand men. The Emperor had lately, by virtue of a former league, and for the common cauſe of chriſtianity, demanded certain forces of the King for this purpoſe. Now what meaſures his ambaſſador was to take with the Emperor in this affair, William Paget, his Majeſty's ſervant, (the ſame that was afterward ſecretary of ſtate,) was diſpatched to him with inſtructions: wherein were contained what anſwer he ſhould make to the Emperor's demands. Which he reported accordingly to Grandeville. The which anſwer he delivered to him in writing, upon the deſire of Grandeville, for this reaſon, as he urged, that he might relate the ſame the more truly to the Emperor. He was now, in the month of September, drawing towards the Turk from Abagh, a place not far from Regenſburgh, where our Engliſh ambaſſador now reſided; not having yet returned any reply to him, prevented by that hurry of buſineſs that then lay upon the Emperor. So that upon Grandeville's intimation to repair unto the Emperor at Lintz, which was in his way to Vienna, and that there he ſhould have an anſwer in writing again, the ambaſſador followed thither, in company with

the ambaſſador of France. And ſo he, with the other ambaſſador, in eight or ten days ſpace, furniſhed themſelves with waggons, horſes, ſhips, tents, and other things neceſſary to the journey, for themſelves and their train. CHAP. III. Anno 1532.

But before his departure, he informed the King of the news in thoſe parts: as, that the Turk reſided ſtill in Hungary in the ſame place, environed on all parts: of which more at large he had written in his former letters. That King Ferdinando, the Emperor's brother, who was then at Regenſburgh, was to meet the Emperor at Paſſaw, fourteen miles from thence: and ſo both were to paſs forth to Lintz, which was the midway from Regenſburgh to Vienna. That the Emperor would tarry there to take counſel what to do, and there all the ambaſſadors ſhould know his pleaſure. Sends the King the news in thoſe parts;

He ſent the King alſo the copy of the Emperor's proclamation concerning a general council, and a reformation to be had in Germany, for the controverſies of the faith. Which he was conſtrained to do, his affairs with the Turk preſſing him ſo much. The ſum thereof was, "That his imperial "Majeſty declared peace throughout all Germany; enjoining that none ſhould be moleſted for the cauſe of religion, "until the council ſhould be called: or, in caſe there were "none, until ſome other means ſhould be found out by the "ſtates of the empire for healing the preſent diviſions. And "that he would uſe his utmoſt diligence that a council "ſhould be denounced within ſix months, and the year after "to be commenced. And that if this could not be obtained, "then theſe matters ſhould be referred to the imperial diets, "to be handled there. That in the mean time all judicial "proceedings relating to religion ſhould be ſuſpended; and "that no lawſuits ſhould hereafter be commenced againſt "the proteſtants: and that in caſe any were, he commanded "that they ſhould be void and null." This edict was publiſhed in the month of Auguſt this year. And the proclamation for a general council. Sleid. Comment.

Together with the aforeſaid proclamation, he transferred over to the King the tax of all the ſtates of the empire; that is, how many ſoldiers every man was limited to find for aid againſt the Turk. Whence our ambaſſador made a particular obſervation to his maſter, for his better direction, what number of forces it were equal for him to ſend; and to juſtify And the tax of the ſtates of the empire.

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

his refuſal to comply with the Emperor, in caſe he ſhould have demanded more than was his proportion: taking his meaſures from the ſaid tax. And the obſervation which he made was this; that his Grace might perceive, that the greateſt Prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy, and Auſtria excepted) was not appointed above 120 horſemen, and 554 footmen. A tranſcript of this letter of Cranmer to the King I have put in the Appendix. Theſe paſſages will ſerve to ſhew Dr. Cranmer's diligence, wiſdom, and other abilities, in the quality he now ſtood in of an ambaſſador.

No. II.

He goes in an embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other proteſtant princes.

Being now reſident in the Emperor's court, the King made uſe of him in another embaſſy, but to be more ſecretly made, to the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that the Emperor might not be privy to it. For in the month of July Dr. Cranmer departed incognito from Ratiſbon, (where the Emperor was, and had there appointed a diet, in order to the coming to ſome terms of peace with the proteſtants, until a council ſhould be called,) and came privately to the Duke, then abiding in a certain hoſpital, as it was called, and delivered letters to him, and to Philip Duke of Lunenburgh, and Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt. At this firſt congreſs, he aſſured the Elector of his maſter the King of England's friendſhip, as the letters he delivered imported. The next day he returned to the Elector's court, Pontanus and Spalatinus, two of the Elector's counſellors, being preſent. Here at this meeting he required divers things concerning peace with the Emperor, the ſtate of religion, aid againſt the Turk, and the goods of the church, which the princes were ſaid to invade. He ſpake magnificent things of the King his maſter: as what mighty aids he had offered the Emperor againſt the Turk; and as he told them the French King would do. And ſo taking letters to the King from Frederick, dated July 15, he was diſmiſſed. But four days after, he came again privately with one ſervant only, and had conference with Spalatinus all alone; telling him, that he had forgot, as he pretended, one part of his meſſage: and that was, that not only his maſter, but the French King, was ready to give aſſiſtance to the Elector and his confederates in the caſe of religion. And he deſired to know in what ſtate the buſineſs of the election of Ferdinand ſtood; whom, being the Em-

Hiſt. Lutheranifm. per Seckendorf.

peror's brother, he had made King of the Romans by a pretended election: which election gave offence, and Frederick, Duke of Saxony, had manifested imperfect and defective. What answer was given to Cranmer was not known: only it was thought that this was somewhat unseasonably acted, because, saith my author, there was peace at this time between the Emperor and the English, which the King's ambassador by those offers did desire to disturb. This, it seems, was the judgment of the protestants concerning this overture to them by the King's ambassador, as though it were not sincere: but I do not find but that, whatsoever peace was now between the Emperor and the English, the former league with him was shaking by reason of the Emperor's disobliging the King, in siding so earnestly with Queen Katharine, in the controversy between the King and her. CHAP. III. Anno 1532. Seckendorf, ubi supra.

CHAP. IV.

Cranmer made Archbishop of Canterbury.

AND this great trust the King, his gracious master, committed to him, as a mark of the honour he had for him, and a sign of further preferment he was minded to advance him to. And about this very time happened a fair opportunity to the King to manifest his favour to him; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, departing this mortal life, whereby that see became vacant. The preferment indeed seemed too great for Cranmer at one stride to step into, without some other intervening dignities to have been first conferred on him. But the King, thinking him the fittest man of all the English clergy to be promoted to this high office, resolved to give it to him, though now absent abroad upon his business. Hereupon the King commanded him to hasten home, though he concealed the reason from him, which was to take the archbishopric he had designed for him. Which when he came home, in obedience to his Majesty, though much against his inclination, and after many refusals, pro- Made Archbishop of Canterbury.

BOOK I.

ceeding from his great modeſty and humility, and certain ſcruples, at length he did accept.

Anno 1532.

His dignities before he was Archbiſhop.

It doth not appear to me what eccleſiaſtical places he had before: only that he was the King's Chaplain, and Archdeacon of Taunton. The Pope alſo, in honour to his maſter, had conſtituted him Penitentiary General of England. He had alſo a benefice, while he lived in the Earl of Wiltſhire's family, which was beſtowed upon him by the King: a mention whereof I find in one of his letters to the ſaid Earl.

Archbiſhop Warham foretels a Thomas to ſucceed him.

It was in the month of Auguſt 1532, that William Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, died: a wife and grave man, a great patron of the moſt learned Eraſmus, and once Lord Chancellor of England: who ſeemed to foreſee and foretel, or at leaſt to conjecture, that Thomas Cranmer ſhould ſucceed him, as judging him, in his own mind, the fitteſt perſon for the King's and church's ſervice, in that juncture, to enter upon that ſee. For this truth, methinks, we may pick out of thoſe malicious words of Harpsfield in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *viz.* That Archbiſhop Warham ſhould ſay, "That a Thomas ſhould ſucceed him; who, by a looſe "and remiſs indulgence of a licentious ſort of life granted "to the people, and by unſound doctrines, would more diſ-"grace the church of Canterbury, and all the reſt of the "church of England, than Thomas the Martyr did amplify "it by his martyrdom. And that he admoniſhed his nephew "and nameſake, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canter-"bury, that if any Thomas ſhould ſucceed in the ſee while "he lived, he ſhould not by any means enter into his ſer-"vice."

It is not unuſual, (nay it is ſeldom otherwiſe,) for popiſh hiſtorians to ſtuff their hiſtories with ſtrange prophecies and falſehoods, mixed with ſome truth. And I ſuppoſe the matter might be no more than this: This grave and ſober Archbiſhop was ſenſible of the groſs encroachments of the Biſhops of Rome upon the authority of the Kings of this realm in their own dominions: and his judgment ſtood for the reſtoring of this imperial crown to its ancient right and ſovereignty, and for the abridging the papal power. And knowing how learned a man Dr. Thomas Cranmer was, and perceiving what an able inſtrument he was like to prove in

vindicating the King's right to the ſupremacy in his own kingdoms, the Archbiſhop upon theſe accounts might think him the fitteſt to ſucceed in the archiepiſcopal chair, and might have ſome reaſon to believe that the King intended him thereunto. CHAP. IV. Anno 1532.

Archbiſhop Warham for the King's ſupremacy.

And that Archbiſhop Warham was of this judgment, it may appear, if we trace ſome footſteps of him. In the year 1530, when all the clergy were under a *præmunire*, and a petition was drawing up in the convocation for that cauſe, the King in the ſaid petition was addreſſed to by the title of *Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England*. At this title, when the Archbiſhop found ſome of the clergy to boggle, who were yet afraid openly to declare their diſallowance of it, he took the opportunity of their ſilence to paſs the title, by ſaying, that *ſilence was to be taken for their conſent*.

In the laſt ſynod, wherein this Archbiſhop was a member, and the main director, many things were debated about aboliſhing the papacy. This ſynod was prorogued from April 26, to October 5. In the mean time he died. But had he lived, and been well, unto the next ſeſſions, ſome further ſteps had been made in evacuating the Biſhop of Rome's uſurpations; as may be gueſſed by what was done under his influence the laſt ſeſſions, when the ſupremacy of that foreign prelate was rejected. Ant. Brit.

Cranmer's teſtimony of Warham.

Something more of this Archbiſhop's endeavours of reſtoring the King to his ſupremacy, appears by what Archbiſhop Cranmer ſaid to Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter, before a great aſſembly, not long before his burning. Brooks had charged him for firſt ſetting up the King's ſupremacy. To which Cranmer replied, "That it was Warham gave the "ſupremacy to Henry VIII, and that he had ſaid, he ought "to have it before the Biſhop of Rome, and that God's word "would bear it. And that upon this the univerſities of "Cambridge and Oxford were ſent to, to know what the "word of God would allow touching the ſupremacy. Where "it was reaſoned and argued upon at length: and at laſt "both agreed, and ſet to their ſeals, and ſent it to the King, "that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the Pope." All which was in Archbiſhop Warham's time, and while he

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

was alive, three quarters of a year before ever Cranmer had the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, as he alſo added in that audience.

So that, theſe things conſidered, we may conclude, that Warham did think that none would be ſo fit to come after him as Cranmer, a learned and diligent man, to carry on this cauſe, which he, before him, had begun: and ſo might ſpeak of him as the propereſt perſon to be advanced to this ſee.

A reflection upon a paſſage relating to Cranmer in Harpſfield's hiſtory. Antiq. of Cant.

To this I will add the ſenſe of an ingenious and learned friend of mine concerning this paſſage in Harpsfield's hiſtory; which the author alſo of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* hath made uſe of to the good Archbiſhop's diſcredit: and which Somner alſo had unluckily ſelected, though without deſign, to hurt his good name, and is all he writes of him. But may it not be conſidered, ſaith he, that the pretended martyr Thomas Becket, though he died in vindication of the privileges of the church, yet he was the firſt betrayer of the rights of his ſee? He made the greateſt breach upon the authority of the primacy of Canterbury, by reſigning the archbiſhopric into the Pope's hands, and receiving it again from him, as the Pope's donation. But it is the honour of the bleſſed martyr, Thomas Cranmer, that he was the firſt who began to claim the primacy, and retrieve the rights of his ſee from being ſlaviſhly ſubjected to the Roman power. Indeed, little credit is to be given to the author who firſt publiſhed this ſtory; conſidering what a violent man he was, and how much prejudiced againſt Cranmer, and intereſted in the popiſh cauſe; and coming into the archdeaconry of Canterbury by the deprivation of the Archbiſhop's brother.

Cranmer tries to evade the archbiſhopric.

Cranmer *Noluit epiſcopari*, had no mind to be Archbiſhop. He loved his ſtudies, and affected retirement, and well knew the dangers and temptations of a public ſtation. But eſpecially he could not induce his mind to take his office from the Pope, and to ſwear fidelity to him as well as to the King: whereby he ſhould enſnare himſelf in two contrary oaths. Wherefore, when the King ſent for him home from his embaſſy in Germany, with a deſign to lay that honourable burden upon him, he, gueſſing the reaſon, firſt endeavoured to delay his coming, by ſignifying to the King ſome matters of importance that would require his tarrying there

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1532

ſomewhat longer for the King's ſervice: hoping in that while the King might have beſtowed the place upon ſome other. In fine, our hiſtorians ſay, he ſtayed abroad one half year longer. But I find him in England in the month of November, which was not much more than a quarter of a year after Warham's death. Then the King was married to the Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and Cranmer was preſent. So that the King muſt have ſent for him home in June, two or three months before the Archbiſhop's death: probably while he was in a declining dying condition. But after, when that which Cranmer ſeemed to ſuſpect of certain emergencies in thoſe parts, wherein the Engliſh ſtate might be concerned, fell not out; the King again commanded his return home. Now more perfectly knowing, by ſome of his friends, the King's intentions to make him Archbiſhop, he made means, by divers of his friends, to ſhift it off, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living.

Declares the reaſon thereof to the King.

At length the King brake his mind to him, that it was his full purpoſe to beſtow that dignity upon him for his ſervice, and for the good opinion he conceived of him. But his long diſabling himſelf nothing diſſuaded the King, till at laſt he humbly craved the King's pardon, for that he ſhould declare to him, and that was, "That if he ſhould accept it, "he muſt receive it at the Pope's hand, which he neither "would nor could do: for that his Highneſs was the only "ſupreme governor of the Church of England, as well in "cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporal; and that the full right of "donation of all manner of benefices and biſhoprics, as well "as any other temporal dignities and promotions, apper-"tained to him, and not to any other foreign authority. "And therefore if he might ſerve God, him, and his country, "in that vocation, he would accept it of his Majeſty, and of "no ſtranger, who had no authority within this realm." Whereat the King made a pauſe; and then aſked him how he was able to prove it. At which time he alledged ſeveral texts out of Scripture, and the Fathers, proving the ſupreme authority of Kings in their own realms and dominions: and withal ſhewing the intolerable uſurpations of the Biſhops of Rome. Of this the King talked ſeveral times with him; and perceiving that he could not be brought to acknowledge the

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

Pope's authority, the King called one Dr. Oliver, an eminent lawyer, and other civilians, and deviſed with them how he might beſtow the archbiſhopric upon him, ſalving his conſcience. They ſaid, he might do it by way of proteſtation: and ſo one to be ſent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer ſaid to this, it ſhould be *ſuper animam ſuam*; and ſeemed to be ſatisfied in what the lawyers told him. And accordingly, when he was conſecrated, made his proteſtation, "That he did not admit the Pope's "authority any further than it agreed with the expreſs "word of God: and that it might be lawful for him at all "times to ſpeak againſt him, and to impugn his errors, "when there ſhould be occaſion." And ſo he did.

The Archbiſhop's brother is made Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Whether Warham, the Archdeacon, had conceived any prejudice againſt our new Archbiſhop, by ſome warning given him by the former Archbiſhop, as was hinted above; or whether he was willing to give place upon Cranmer's entreaty, that he might provide for his brother: ſo it was, that Edmund Cranmer, brother to the Archbiſhop, ſucceeded Warham in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the provoſtſhip of Wingham: who parted with both theſe dignities by ceſſion: and, by the privity and conſent of the Archbiſhop, he had a ſtipend or penſion of ſixty pounds per annum allowed him, during his life, out of the archdeaconry; and twenty pounds per annum out of Wingham, by his ſucceſſor aforeſaid: who continued archdeacon until Queen Mary's days, and was then deprived; and his prebend, and his parſonage of Ickham, all taken from him in the year 1554, for being a married clerk. The firſt was given to Nicholas Harpsfield; the ſecond to Robert Collins, bachelor of law, and commiſſary of Canterbury; and the third to Robert Marſh.

Somner, Hiſt. of Cant. p. 322. ex lib. Eccleſ. Cant.

The King linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about Q. Katharine.

The King had before linked him into his great buſineſs about Queen Katharine and the Lady Ann. So now, when he had nominated him for Archbiſhop, he made him a party and an actor in every ſtep almoſt which he took in that affair. For to fetch the matter a little backward; not long before the archiepiſcopal ſee was devolved upon Cranmer, the King had created the Lady Ann Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and taken her along with him in great ſtate into France; when, by their mutual conſent, there was an interview ap-

pointed between the two Kings. At Calais King Henry permitted Francis the French King to take a view of this lady, who then made both Kings a curious and rich maſk, where both honoured her by dancing: this was in the month of October. In the month before I find a parcel of very rich jewels were ſent from Greenwich to Hampton-Court by Mr. Norrys; probably he who was Groom of the Stole, and executed upon Queen Ann's buſineſs afterwards. Which jewels, as ſome of them might be for the King's own wearing, now he was going into France; ſo in all probability others were either lent or given to the Marchioneſs to adorn and make her fine, when ſhe ſhould appear and give her entertainment to the French King. For the ſake of ſuch as be curious, I have ſet down, in the Appendix, a particular of theſe moſt ſplendid and royal jewels, from an original ſigned with the King's own hand in token of his receipt of them.

CHAP. IV. Anno 1532. Sept. 21. Appendix, No. III.

Immediately after the King's and the Marchioneſs's return from France, he married her. At which wedding, though very private, the Archbiſhop was one that aſſiſted, according to the Lord Herbert; but, according to the author of the Britannic Antiquities, did the ſacred office. When ſhe was crowned Queen, which was Whitſuntide following, the Archbiſhop performed the ceremonies. When, after that, the King had a daughter by her, he would have the Archbiſhop aſſiſt at the chriſtening, and be her godfather. And before this, when Queen Katharine was to be divorced from the King, and the Pope's diſpenſation of that marriage declared null, our Archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence, and made the declaration ſolemnly and publicly at Dunſtable Priory. Thus the King dipped and engaged Cranmer with himſelf in all his proceeding in this cauſe. Now as all theſe doings had danger in them, ſo eſpecially this laſt highly provoked the Pope for doing this without his leave and authority, as being a preſumptuous encroachment upon his prerogative. Inſomuch that a public act was made at Rome, that unleſs the King undid all that he had done, and reſtored all things *in integrum*, leaving them to his deciſion, he would excommunicate him. And this ſentence was affixed and ſet up publicly at Dunkirk. Which put the King upon an appeal

Rex D. Annam Bullenam, Thoma Cranmero ſacra miniſtrante, uxorem duxit.

BOOK I.

from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called. The Archbiſhop alſo, foreſeeing the Pope's threatening hovering likewiſe over his head, by the King's advice, made his appeal by the Engliſh ambaſſador there. I have ſeen the King's original letter to Dr. Bonner, ordering him to ſignify to the Pope, in order and form of law, his appeal, ſending him alſo the inſtrument of his appeal, with the proxy deviſed for that purpoſe. This bare date Auguſt 18th from his caſtle at Windſor. I have repoſited it in the Appendix. Which order of the King Bonner did accordingly diſcharge at an audience he got of the Pope at Marſeilles, November 7. And that letter which the Lord Herbert ſaith he ſaw of Bonner to the King, wherein he ſignified as much, muſt be his anſwer to this of the King to him.

Anno 1532. The King and the Archbiſhop appeal from the Pope to a general council.

The King writes to Dr. Bonner in that behalf.

No. IV.

Anno 1533. The Archbiſhop is conſecrated.

Dr. Cranmer having now yielded to the King to accept the archbiſhopric, it was in the beginning of the next year, *viz.* 1533, March 30, and in the 24th of King Henry, that he received his conſecration; but that uſhered in with abundance of bulls, ſome dated in February, and ſome in March, from Pope Clement, to the number of eleven: as may be ſeen at length in the beginning of this Archbiſhop's regiſter.

The Pope's bulls.

The firſt was to King Henry, upon his nomination of Cranmer to him to be Archbiſhop. The Pope alloweth and promoteth him accordingly. The ſecond was a bull to Cranmer himſelf, ſignifying the ſame. The third bull abſolved him from any ſentences of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interdiction, &c. It was written from the Pope to him, under the title of Archdeacon of Taunton in the Church of Wells, and Maſter in Theology; and ran thus:

Nos ne forſan aliquibus ſententiis, cenſuris et pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, ligatus ſis, &c. Volentes te a quibuſvis excommunicationis, ſuſpenſionis, et interdicti, aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis, cenſuris, et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa latis, &c. Authoritate prædicta, tenore præſentium, abſolvimus, et abſolutum fore nuntiamus, non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus, et ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, &c. One might think that this bull was drawn up peculiarly for Cranmer's caſe: who, by reaſon he might have been ſuſpected as infected with Lutheraniſm, or had meddled too much in the King's

matrimonial cauſe; and ſo entangled in the church's cenſures, might have need of ſuch abſoiling. But I ſuppoſe it was but a cuſtomary bull. A fourth bull was to the ſuffragans of Canterbury; that is, to all the biſhops in the province; ſignifying Cranmer's advancement to be their metropolitan. Another to the city and dioceſe of Canterbury. Another to the chapter of the ſaid church. Another to the vaſſals of the church: that is, to all ſuch as held lands of it. Another to the people of the city. Another, wherewith the pall was ſent to the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of London. Another, of the deſtination of the pall: which, the bull ſaith, was taken *de corpore B. Petri*, to be preſented to him by the Archbiſhop of York and the Biſhop of London, or one of them, after he had received the gift of conſecration. In this bull of the deſtination is an order, not to uſe the pall but on thoſe proper days which were expreſsly mentioned in the privileges of the church: on purpoſe to beget a greater eſteem and veneration of this, and whatſoever baubles elſe came from Rome, and brought ſuch treaſure thither. CHAP. IV. Anno 1533.

The Archbiſhop, according to cuſtom, received theſe bulls, which the Pope ſent him to inveſt him with the archbiſhopric. But he ſurrendered them up to the King; becauſe he would not own the Pope as the giver of this eccleſiaſtical dignity, but the King only, as he declared at his trial before Queen Mary's commiſſioners at Oxford in the year 1555. The Archbiſhop ſurrenders them to the King.

As to the act of conſecration, firſt, they aſſembled in the chapter-houſe of the King's College of St. Stephen, near the King's palace of Weſtminſter. Preſent as witneſſes Watkins, the King's prothonotary; Dr. John Tregonwel; Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the King's council; Richard Guent, doctor of decrees, of the court of Canterbury principal official; and John Cocks, the Archbiſhop's auditor of the audience, and vicar-general in ſpirituals. The firſt thing that was done by the Archbiſhop elect, was for the ſatisfaction of his conſcience: who was now before his conſecration to take an oath of fidelity to the Pope, which will follow by and by. This he ſaw conſiſted by no means with his allegiance to his ſovereign: and therefore, how common and cuſtomary ſoever it were for biſhops to take it, yet Cranmer in the firſt place, in the ſaid chapter-houſe, before the ſaid witneſſes, made a pro- The method of the conſecration.

BOOK I. Anno 1533.

teſtation, wherein he declared, that he intended not by the oath that he was to take, and was cuſtomary for biſhops to take to the Pope, to bind himſelf to do any thing contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or to the commonwealth and ſtatutes of the kingdom: nor to tie himſelf up from ſpeaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, and prerogative of the crown. And that according to this interpretation and meaning only he would take the oath, and no otherwiſe. This proteſtation, becauſe I think it is not recorded in our hiſtorians, except Maſon, (and in him imperfect,) I have put it into the Appendix *verbatim*, as I tranſcribed it out of the Archbiſhop's regiſter. And having made this proteſtation, he bad the prothonotary to make one or more public inſtruments thereof, and deſired the forementioned perſons to be witneſſes thereunto. After this proteſtation made, he, in the preſence of theſe witneſſes, being arrayed in ſacerdotal garments, went up to the ſtep of the high altar, to receive conſecration; where was ſitting in a chair, honourably adorned, John Longland, the Biſhop of Lincoln, having on his pontificals, aſſiſted by John Voicy, Biſhop of Exon, and Henry Standiſh, Biſhop of St. Aſaph; holding in his hand a ſchedule with the oath, which he was now going to take to the Pope: and having withal his proteſtation, he, before the aforeſaid witneſſes, aſſerted and proteſted, that he would read the ſchedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the ſaid proteſtation, which he ſaid he made the ſame day in the chapter-houſe before thoſe witneſſes, and no otherwiſe, nor in any other manner. And then preſently after, kneeling on his knees, read the ſchedule, containing the oath to the Pope: which I have repoſited in the Appendix.

De Miniſter. p. 154. No. V.

No. VI.

Then the biſhops proceeded to the conſecrating of the Archbiſhop. And then again, after the ſolemn conſecration was finiſhed, being about to receive his pall, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, he proteſted again, in the preſence of the ſame witneſſes, that he took the following oath under the ſame proteſtation as he made before in the chapter-houſe, nor would perform it any other ways; and then took the oath. And after he had taken it, deſired the

prothonotary the third time to make a public inſtrument or inſtruments thereof. Which he did. CHAP. IV.

To theſe oaths I will add one more, which the Archbiſhop took with a better ſtomach to the King, for his temporalties. This was for the moſt part the accuſtomable oath of biſhops to the King, when they ſued for their temporalties; but hardly reconcileable with the oath they had taken to the Pope: becauſe in this oath was mentioned a renouncing of all privileges and grants of the Pope, by virtue of his bulls, that might be prejudicial to the King, and an acknowledgment, that they held their biſhopries only of the King, which the Archbiſhop worded more fully, *viz.* That he held his archbiſhopric of the King immediately and only, and of none other. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this oath. Anno 1533. The Archbiſhop's oath for the temporalties. No. VII.

One of the firſt ſervices the Archbiſhop did for the King was the pronouncing the ſentence of divorce from his former Queen Katharine, which was done May 23; but drew an implacable hatred upon him from the Pope and Emperor abroad, as well as the papiſts at home. And Queen Mary would not forget it when ſhe came to the crown, taking then her full revenge upon him: though in the ſame commiſſion, wherein this ſentence was pronounced, ſat the Biſhops of Winton, London, Bath, Lincoln, and many other great clerks. And though he pronounced the ſentence, he was but the mouth of the reſt, and they were all in as deep as he. The Archbiſhop pronounceth the divorce.

There is a ſhort account of Archbiſhop Cranmer's judgment of the unlawfulneſs of this marriage, digeſted under twelve articles, with his own name writ by himſelf on the top of the paper; which Biſhop Burnet tranſcribed from a Cotton manuſcript, and inſerted into his hiſtory. It bears this title: *Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonſtratur, Divortium inter Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictiſſimum, et Sereniſſimam Catharinam neceſſario eſſe faciendum.* The twelfth and concluding article is this: "We think that the "pretended matrimony of Henry King of England, and "Katharine the Queen, hath been, and is none at all; being "prohibited both by the law of God and nature." The Archbiſhop's judgment of the marriage. Vol. i. Collect. p. 95.

BOOK I.

Anno 1533.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

The Archbiſhop forbids preaching.

AFTER his ſentence againſt Queen Katharine, and confirmation of Queen Ann's marriage, one thing he did, which looked as if he was not like to prove any great friend to a reformation: for he forbad all preaching throughout his dioceſe, and warned the reſt of the biſhops throughout England to do the ſame, as I have it from an old journal made by a monk of St. Auguſtine's, Canterbury. But this was only for a time, till orders for preachers and the beads could be finiſhed: it being thought convenient that preaching at this juncture ſhould be reſtrained, becauſe now the matter of ſermons chiefly conſiſted in toſſing about the King's marriage with the Lady Ann, and condemning ſo publicly and boldly his doings againſt Queen Katharine; the prieſts being ſet on work by her friends and faction.

Foxii MSS.

Viſits his dioceſe.

In October or November the Archbiſhop went down to Canterbury, in order to a viſitation.

Auguſt. Monk's journal.

The third day of December the Archbiſhop received the pontifical ſeat in the monaſtery of the holy Trinity. And ſoon after, *viz.* the ninth of the ſame month, began to go on viſitation throughout all his dioceſe, that he might have finiſhed that work before the ſeſſions of the parliament.

The deluſion of a nun in Kent.

This ſame year a remarkable deluſion was diſcovered in the Archbiſhop's dioceſe, and even under his noſe, the ſcene being chiefly laid in Canterbury, by ſome belonging to the cathedral church. For a certain nun, called Elizabeth Barton, by marvellous hypocriſy mocked all Kent, and almoſt all England: for which cauſe ſhe was put in priſon in London; where ſhe confeſſed many horrible things againſt the King and the Queen. This forenamed Elizabeth had many adherents, but eſpecially Dr. Bocking, monk of Chriſt's Church in Canterbury, who was her chief author in her diſſimulation. All of them at the laſt were accuſed of treaſon, hereſy, and conſpiracy; and ſo ſtood in penance before the open croſs of St. Paul's in London; and in Canterbury, in the church-yard of the monaſtery of the holy

Trinity, at the ſermon time, they ſtood over the high ſeat: where of the preacher they were grievouſly rebuked for their horrible fact. And in April the next year, ſhe, with Boeking and Dering, another monk of Canterbury, were led out of priſon through all the ſtreets of London unto Tyburn, where ſhe and theſe monks, and alſo two brothers of the Minors, ſuffered with the reſt upon the gallows for treaſon and hereſy. CHAP. V. Anno 1539.

In the month of November the Archbiſhop ſent a letter to Bonner, the King's ambaſſador at Marſeilles, together with his appeal from the Pope, to be there ſignified, as was hinted before. The reaſon whereof was this: upon the King's divorce from Queen Katharine, the Pope had by a public inſtrument declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened him with excommunication, unleſs he would revoke all that he had done. Gardiner Biſhop of Winton about this time, and upon this occaſion, was ſent ambaſſador to the French King; and Bonner ſoon after followed him to Marſeilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French King and the Pope, now was: for the King and the council apprehended ſome miſchief to be hatching againſt the kingdom by the Pope; who was now inciting the Emperor and other princes to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert declares, that he would ſet all Chriſtendom againſt the King. And the Emperor in diſcourſe had averred, that by the means of Scotland he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The Archbiſhop in this juncture had ſecret intimation of a deſign to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the King by Bonner, November 7, had made his appeal from the Pope to the next general council lawfully called; ſo, by the King and council's advice, the Archbiſhop ſoon after did the ſame; ſending his appeal with his proxy, under his ſeal, to Bonner, deſiring him, together with Gardiner, to conſult together, and to intimate his appeal in the beſt manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. It was not the hand of the Archbiſhop, nor of his ſecretary: ſo I ſuppoſe it was drawn up by ſome of his own lawyers; and is as followeth: The Archbiſhop appeals from the Pope.

"In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So

BOOK I.

Anno 1533. The Archbishop's letter to Bonner. Cleopat. E. 6.

"it is, as you know right well, I ſtand in dread, leſt our "holy father the Pope do intend to make ſome manner of "prejudicial proceſs againſt me and my church. And there- "fore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed "from his Holineſs to the general council, accordingly as "his Highneſs and his council have adviſed me to do. Which "my appeal and procuracy under my ſeal, I do ſend unto "you herewith; deſiring you right heartily to have me "commended to my Lord of Wincheſter, and with his ad- "vice and counſel to intimate the ſaid provocation after the "beſt manner that his Lordſhip and you ſhall think moſt "expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto "you, becauſe the King's highneſs commandeth me this to "do, as you ſhall, I truſt, further perceive by his grace's "letter: nothing doubting in your goodneſs, but at this "mine own deſire you will be contented to take this pains, "though his highneſs ſhall perceaſe forget to write unto you "therein. Which your pains and kindneſs, if it ſhall lie in "me in time to come to recompenſe, I wol not forget it with "God's grace. Who preſerve you, as myſelf. From Lam- "beth, the 27th day of November.

Thomas Cantuar."

Diſputes in the parliament againſt the Pope's ſupremacy.

Life of Cranmer, inter Foxii MSS.

Cranmer being now placed at the head of the Church of England, next under God and the King, and the chief care of it devolved upon him, his great ſtudy was conſcientiouſly to diſcharge this high vocation. And one of the firſt things wherein he ſhewed his good ſervice to the church, was done in the parliament in the latter end of this year 1533. When the ſupremacy came under debate, and the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome was propounded, then the old collections of the new Archbiſhop did him good ſervice; for the chief, and in a manner the whole burden of this weighty cauſe was laid upon his ſhoulders. Inſomuch that he was forced to anſwer to all that ever the whole rabble of the papiſts could ſay for the defence of the Pope's ſupremacy: and he anſwered ſo plainly, directly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved ſo evidently and ſtoutly, both by the word of God, and conſent of the primitive Church, that this uſurped power of the Pope is a mere tyranny, and directly

againſt the law of God; and that the power of Emperors and Kings is the higheſt power here upon earth; unto which, Biſhops, Prieſts, Popes, and Cardinals ought to ſubmit themſelves, and are as much bound to obey, as their temporal ſubjects, or laymen, (as the prieſts call them;) that the iſſue was the aboliſhing of that foreign papal power, and the expulſion of it out of this realm, by the full conſent of parliament. CHAP. V. Anno 1533.

A licence, dated Feb. 13. this year, was granted by the Archbiſhop to Mary the relict of Sir Henry Guilford, Kt. to have the euchariſt, matrimony, and baptiſm, miniſtered in any chapel or oratory within her manors where ſhe ſhould reſide, during her life. And ſuch a licence, dated alſo Feb. 13. the next year, was granted by him to Margaret Marchioneſs of Dorſet. Whether indulged to them by the Archbiſhop, the rather to free them from danger for not frequenting their pariſh-churches, and for the avoiding the ſuperſtitious and idolatrous worſhip there performed; and that there might be ſome private places for purer worſhipping God, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments; or only for the convenience of thoſe ladies, the reader hath liberty to judge. Licences for chapels. Cran. Reg.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop preſſeth the Tranſlation of the Bible.

THIS rub of the papal power being now taken out of the way, and the King's ſupremacy ſettled in the next ſeſſions of parliament, in November 1534. a way was opened for a reformation of errors and abuſes in religion. So that, as the Archbiſhop judged it a thing impoſſible to make any amendment of religion under the Pope's dominion; ſo he thought it now (the ſame being diſpatched out of the realm) a meet time to reſtore the true doctrine of Chriſt, according to the word of God, and the old primitive church, within his juriſdiction and cure; and, with the ſaid Pope, to aboliſh alſo all falſe doctrine, errors, and hereſies, by him brought into the church; for the accompliſhing of which he let paſs no opportunities. The Archbiſhop labours the reformation of the Church.

BOOK I.

Anno 1531. What he did this convocation.

A convocation now afforded him one. Our Archbiſhop, from his firſt entrance upon his dignity, had it much in his mind to get the holy Scriptures put into the vulgar language, and a liberty for all to read them. The convocation now was ſo well diſpoſed, by the influence of the Archbiſhop and his friends, that they did petition the King, that the Bible might be tranſlated by ſome learned men of his Highneſs's nomination. And as this good motion was briefly made in the houſe by the Archbiſhop, ſo they agreed upon him to carry their petition. But they clogged it with another, which the Archbiſhop did not ſo well approve of: for about the month of December they paſſed this order of convocation: "The Biſhops, Abbots, Priors of this upper houſe of "convocation, of the province of Canterbury, met together "in the chapter-houſe of St. Paul, unanimouſly did conſent, "that the moſt Reverend Father the Archbiſhop ſhould "make inſtance in their names to the King, that his Majeſty "would vouchſafe, for the increaſe of the faith of his ſub-"jects, to decree and command, that all his ſubjects, in "whoſe poſſeſſion any books of ſuſpect doctrine were, eſpe-"cially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on "this ſide the ſea, ſhould be warned, within three months, "to bring them in before perſons to be appointed by the "King, under a certain pain to be limited by the King.

"And that moreover his Majeſty would vouchſafe to de-"cree, that the Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated into the vul-"gar tongue, by ſome honeſt and learned men, to be no-"minated by the King, and to be delivered unto the people "according to their learning." This was reſolved in the convocation, December 19.

Accordingly the King iſſued out ſoon after his proclamation. What this proclamation was I do not know, unleſs it were one I meet with about this time, againſt bringing in or printing ſeditious books of Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries, who were ſaid to be lately come into the realm; and againſt ſome of his own ſubjects, who publicly diſputed in taverns and other open places, upon thoſe points of religion, which the King was offended withal. For the correction and regulating of which, the King in the ſaid proclamation commanded ſundry articles to be obſerved; which for the length

of them I have put into the Appendix. (No. VIII.) Unleſs perhaps this proclamation may belong to the year 1538. CHAP. VI. Anno 1537.

About the month of June this year, was a book drawn up for biſhops and prieſts, wherein was an order for preaching; and in the ſame were forms deviſed for the beads, as well for preachers as curates: in which forms the King's title of *Supreme Head* was ſpecified. In this book was commandment given by the King, that every preacher ſhould, before Eaſter, once in ſolemn audience, declare the uſurped juriſdiction, within this realm, of the Biſhop of Rome, and the King's juſt cauſe to decline from the ſame: and alſo to open and declare ſuch things as might avow and juſtify the King's refuſal of marriage with the Princeſs Dowager, and his contract anew with Queen Ann. And alſo in the ſame book an order was given for the ſuppreſſion of the general ſentence or curſe. This book the Archbiſhop, who we may well ſuppoſe had a great hand in it, ſent, by the King's commandment, to all the biſhops, and to the Archbiſhop of York, though out of his province: that Archbiſhop lying under ſome jealouſy, as it ſeems, with the King. A book for preaching, and the beads. Diſperſed by the Archbiſhop to all the biſhops.

Therefore, after the receipt of the book, the ſaid Archbiſhop of York the next Sunday, which was the ſecond Sunday after Trinity, went from Cawood to York, and there in his own perſon declared, as well the King's cauſe touching the matrimony, as his refuſal of the Pope's juriſdiction, ſo fully, that nothing that needed to be opened was left unſpoken, as that Archbiſhop wrote himſelf to the King in his own vindication. And, that the auditory might be the greater, he ſent to York forthwith, upon the receipt of the book, to publiſh there, that he would be there the next Sunday following, and cauſed the churches to make an end of their ſervice in ſuch time, as every man might have opportunity to be at the ſermon: and eſpecially required the Mayor and his brethren, and one Mr. Magnus, and Sir George Lawſon, his Majeſty's chaplains, to be there: and a very great confluence there was. Then the Archbiſhop preached from that text, *Ureram duxi*, &c. Whence he took occaſion to utter and declare both his foreſaid matters, and the injury done to the King's highneſs by Pope Clement. The Archbiſhop of York preaches at York.

As the convocation this year had declared the Pope to

BOOK I.

Anno 1534. The Clergy and Univerſities ſubſcribe againſt the Pope.

have no juriſdiction in this kingdom, ſo this would not ſerve the King till all the learned and ſpiritual men in England had ſubſcribed to it with their hands. The Archbiſhop's church of Canterbury began. For the Prior and Convent thereof, moved and influenced not a little by their dioceſan, ſolemnly ſubſcribed an inſtrument for aboliſhing the Pope's ſupremacy, and for acknowledgment of the King Supreme Head of the Church of England, under this poſition.

Cleopat. E. 6. p. 208.

Quod Romanus Epiſcopus non habet majorem aliquam juriſdictionem a Deo ſibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis externus Epiſcopus. That is,

That the Biſhop of Rome hath not ſome greater juriſdiction conferred upon him by God in this realm of England, than any other foreign Biſhop.

This was conſented to by the Prior's own hand ſubſcribed, and ſixty-nine of the convent beſides: the original whereof is in a volume of the Cotton library. In another place of the ſame volume is extant the ſubſcription of the Biſhops, Deans, and ſeveral Abbots; and, after that, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and all the particular colleges: and, after that, the names of all the ſubſcribing Priors of England.

Page 458.

Cranmer and others adminiſter the oath of ſucceſſion to the Clergy.

The Archbiſhop was one employed about the act of ſucceſſion, that was made the laſt ſeſſions of parliament: which was to inveſt the ſucceſſion to the crown upon the heirs of Queen Ann; and that Queen Katharine ſhould be no more called Queen, but Princeſs Dowager. In the preamble to the act, there were certain touches againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and againſt his power of diſpenſing in the King's former marriage with his brother's wife, carnally known by him. To this act all perſons were to ſwear, to accept and maintain the ſame, upon pain of treaſon. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Audley, Secretary Crumwel, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, were the King's commiſſioners appointed to tender this oath. The nobility and gentry took it, none denying, to which they ſet their hands in a long liſt.

On the 13th of April, the commiſſioners ſat at Lambeth to receive the oaths of the Clergy, and chiefly thoſe of London, that had not yet ſworn; who all took it, not one ex-

cepted. And a certain doctor, Vicar of Croydon, that it CHAP. VI. Anno 1534.
ſeems made ſome boggle before, went up with the reſt: of whom Sir Thomas More, who then ſtood by, made an obſervation, how, as he paſt, he went to my Lord's buttery-hatch, and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter*; whether, ſaith he ſarcaſtically, it were for gladneſs, or dryneſs, or *quod ille notus erat Pontifici*. The oath alſo now was taken by Dr. Wylſon, a great court-divine in thoſe days, who for Queen Katharine's buſineſs was a priſoner at this time, though a great while he was unſatisfied, and conſulted much with Sir Thomas More about the lawfulneſs of taking it.

The ſame day were conveyed hither from the Tower, Biſhop Fiſher, and Sir Thomas More, the only layman at this meeting, to tender this oath to them: who both, being ſeparately called, refuſed it. After the Clergy were ſworn and diſpatched, immediately Sir Thomas by himſelf was ſent for the ſecond time. Now he had much talk with the Lords, who would fain have brought him to comply. They urged him to declare the cauſes why he would not ſwear: but he excuſed his ſo doing. Then they charged him with obſtinacy: he ſaid, it was not obſtinacy, but becauſe he might not declare his mind without peril of incurring the King's further diſpleaſure. He told the commiſſioners, that for his part he condemned not the conſciences of any; but that he was diſſatisfied in his own conſcience for certain reaſons. The Archbiſhop, taking hold of this, ſpake to him thus; "That it appeared well, that Sir Thomas did not take "it for a very ſure thing and a certain, that he might not "lawfully ſwear, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubt-"ful. But you know, ſaid my Lord, for a certainty, and for "a thing without doubt, that you be bound to obey your "ſovereign Lord the King. And therefore are you bound "to leave off the doubt of your unſure conſcience, in re-"fuſing the oath, and take the ſure way in obeying of your "Prince, who commands you to ſwear." This argument, as Sir Thomas confeſſed in one of his letters to his daughter Roper, ſeemed ſo ſubtil, and with ſuch authority coming out of ſo noble a prelate's mouth, that he could anſwer again nothing thereto: but only that he thought with himſelf,

And to Sir Thomas More, who refuſed it.

Sir Thomas More's letters.

Cranmer's argument with him.

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

that he might not ſo do, becauſe that in his conſcience this was one of the cauſes in which he was bounden, that he ſhould not obey his Prince; ſith that whatſoever other folks thought in the matter, (whoſe conſcience or learning, as he ſaid, he would not condemn, or take upon him to judge,) yet in his conſcience the truth ſeemed on the other ſide, wherein he had informed his conſcience neither ſuddenly nor ſlightly, but by long leiſure and diligent ſearch for the matter.

More offers to ſwear to the ſucceſſion itſelf.

In fine, the fartheſt Sir Thomas could be brought, and which he offered voluntarily that morning, was to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, (which was the main deſign of the act,) though not to the preamble. At parting, the Lord Chancellor bad the ſecretary, before More, take notice, that More denied not, but was content to ſwear the ſucceſſion. More aſſented, and ſaid, in that point he would be contented, ſo that he might ſee the oath ſo framed, as might ſtand with his conſcience.

Biſhop Fiſher offers the ſame.

Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, offered the ſame before this aſſembly that More had done; and, in a letter of his afterwards writ to the ſecretary, aſſigned the reaſon why he could, with a good conſcience, ſwear to the ſucceſſion, *viz.* becauſe he doubted not but that the Prince of a realm, with the aſſent of the nobles and commons, might appoint his ſucceſſors according as he pleaſed. In the Appendix this letter will be found, which Biſhop Fiſher writ upon occaſion of the ſecretary's advice, who laboured to gain him, that he ſhould write to the King, to declare his mind to him in ſwearing to the ſucceſſion; and to petition him to let that ſuffice, becauſe his conſcience could not conſent to the reſt of the act. The ſecretary alſo had ſent unto Fiſher, lying in the Tower, Lee, Biſhop elect of Lichfield and Coventry; to whom he declared again, that he would take the oath to the ſucceſſion; and moreover, that he would ſwear never to meddle more in diſputation of the matrimony, and promiſed all allegiance to the King. But he told Lee, his conſcience could not be convinced that the marriage was againſt the law of God, becauſe of a prohibition in the Levitical law. See Lee's letter, in the Appendix, to Secretary Crumwel.

No. IX.

No. X.

The Archbiſhop, ſoon after that meeting of the commiſſion-

ers at Lambeth, retired to Croydon: and being a man not kind to his own party and perſuaſion only, and fierce and bloody-minded to them that differed from him, but compaſſionate towards all, friend and foe; his tender ſpirit ſuggeſted to him, to make this ſerve for an occaſion to intercede for More and Fiſher to Crumwel; ſhewing him in a letter, dated April the 17th, how adviſable in his judgment it would be to be ſatisfied with that oath they had offered to ſwear, in caſe they would ſwear to maintain the ſaid ſucceſſion againſt all power and potentates: urging to him that there would be theſe advantages gained thereby. Firſt, that it would be a means to ſatisfy the conſciences of the Princeſs Dowager and the Lady Mary; who it ſeems made it a matter of conſcience and ſin to abandon their titles. Alſo, that it might tend to ſtop the Emperor's mouth, and the mouths of other their friends, when Fiſher and More, who had ſtickled ſo much for them, ſhould now own that ſucceſſion, which would be in effect a diſowning of them. Secondly, that it might be a means to reſolve and quiet alſo many others in the realm that were in doubt, when ſuch great men ſhould affirm, by oath and ſubſcription, that the ſucceſſion mentioned in the ſaid act was good, and according to God's laws. And he thought, that, after two ſuch had ſworn, there would be ſcarce one in the kingdom would reclaim againſt it. And thirdly, that though a great many in the realm could not be brought to alter from their opinions of the validity of the King's former marriage, and of the Biſhop of Rome's authority, that it would be a great point gained, if all with one accord would own and acknowledge the ſucceſſion.

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1534.

The Archbiſhop writes to Crumwel in their behalf.

Weaver, the author of the Funeral Monuments, tranſcribed this letter out of the Cotton library, and inſerted it into his ſaid book: and the thing he takes notice of therein is, the *wiſdom and policy of the prudent Archbiſhop*. I ſhall take notice of another thing, and which I ſuppoſe was the great cauſe that employed his pen at this time, namely, his tender heart, and abhorrence from blood-ſhedding: propounding theſe politic conſiderations to the ſecretary, which were the propereſt arguments to be uſed with a ſtateſman, and for him to uſe and urge before the King; that ſo he

The Archbiſhop's endeavour to ſave the lives of More and Fiſher.

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

might be an inſtrument of ſaving the lives of theſe men, however they differed from him, and it may be were none of his very good friends. This letter of the Archbiſhop's, as I myſelf took it from the original, I thought worthy depoſiting among Cranmer's monuments in the Appendix. But this offer of theirs, notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop's arguments and endeavours, would not be accepted. The King would not be ſatisfied with this ſwearing by halves.

No. XI.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbiſhop viſits the Dioceſe of Norwich.

A *præmunire* brought againſt Biſhop Nix.

THE Popiſh Biſhops were now at a low ebb; and, being under the frowns of their Prince, other men took the opportunities, upon their ſlips, to get them puniſhed. A ſtorm now fell upon Richard Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, a vicious and diſſolute man, as Godwin writes. Againſt him was a *præmunire* this year (25 of Henry VIII.) brought. That, *de tout temps*, there had been a cuſtom in the town of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that no inhabitant of the ſame town ſhould be drawn in plea in any court chriſtian for any ſpiritual cauſes, but before the Dean in the ſaid town. And there was a preſentment in the King's court before the Mayor of the town, by twelve jurors, that there was ſuch a cuſtom. And beſide, that whoſoever ſhould draw any man out of the ſaid town, in any ſpiritual court, ſhould forfeit ſix ſhillings and eight pence. The Biſhop nevertheleſs cited the Mayor to appear before him, *pro ſalute animæ;* and upon his appearance libelled for that cauſe, and enjoined him, upon pain of excommunication, not to admit the ſaid preſentment. And whenas the Biſhop could not deny his fact, judgment was given, that he ſhould be out of the King's protection, his goods and chattels forfeited, and his body impriſoned during the King's pleaſure. For which he had the King's pardon. Which was afterwards confirmed in parliament.

Cotton Librar. Cleop. F. 1.

The Archbiſhop viſits this Biſhop's ſee.

This Biſhop's dioceſe was now in ſuch diſorder, that the Archbiſhop inſtituted a viſitation of that ſee; wherein Wil-

liam May, LL.D. was the Archbiſhop's commiſſary. The 28th of July, the Biſhop was called and ſummoned to appear, but appeared not: and ſo was pronounced *contumax*. But at another meeting he ſent Dr. Cap, his proctor, by whom he made a proteſtation againſt their doings and juriſdiction; and that it was not decent for that reverend father to appear before him, the Archbiſhop's official. However at another meeting, the Biſhop not appearing at the time and place appointed, Dr. May declared him obſtinate, and to incur the penalty of obſtinacy. After this the Biſhop, by his proctor, was willing to ſubmit to obey law, and to ſtand to the command of the Church, and to do penance for his ſaid contumacy, to be enjoined by the Archbiſhop, or his commiſſary. At another court the Biſhop appeared in perſon, and then ſhewed himſelf willing to take the ſaid commiſſary for viſitor, or any other in the name of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This Biſhop was now fourſcore years old, and blind, as appears by a writing of his ſent by his proctor, dated September 1534. He died two years after, and came in to be Biſhop in the year 1500.

CHAP. VII. Anno 1534. Cranmer's Reg.

This Biſhop ſeems to have made himſelf very odious in his dioceſe by his fierceneſs and rigors againſt ſuch as were willing to be better informed in religion; whom he would ſtyle men *favouring of the frying-pan*. He ſeized ſuch books as were brought from beyond ſea, of which ſort there were now many, which tended to lay open the corruptions of the Church; and eſpecially the New Teſtament, which he could not endure ſhould be read. And when ſome of theſe commonly gave out, that it was the King's pleaſure that ſuch books ſhould be read, he ſent up ſtudiouſly, by the Abbot of Hyde, to have this ſhewed to the King; and begged his letters under his ſeal, to be directed to him, or any body elſe whom the King pleaſed in his dioceſe, to declare it was not his pleaſure ſuch books ſhould be among his ſubjects, and to puniſh ſuch as reported it was. He ſent alſo a letter to Warham, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, making his complaint and information to him, deſiring him to ſend for the ſaid Abbot, who ſhould tell him what his thoughts were for the ſuppreſſion of theſe men; and entreating the Archbiſhop to inform the King againſt theſe erroneous men, as

The Biſhop of Norwich a perſecutor.

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

he called them. Some part of his dioceſe was bounded with the ſea, and Ipſwich and Yarmouth, and other places of conſiderable traffic, were under his juriſdiction. And ſo there happened many merchants and mariners, who, by converſe from abroad, had received knowledge of the truth, and brought in divers good books. This mightily angered the zealous Biſhop, and he uſed all the ſeverity he could to ſtop the progreſs of evangelical truth, and wiſhed for more authority from the King to puniſh it; for his opinion was, that if they continued any time, he thought they would undo them all, as he wrote to the Archbiſhop. This letter is in the Appendix.

No. XII.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Goodrick, Lee, and Salcot conſecrated Biſhops.

April the 19th, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, inveſted in his pontificals, conſecrated Thomas Goodrick, doctor of decrees, Biſhop of Ely, in his chapel at Croydon; together with Rowland Lee, doctor of law, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry; and John Salcot, alias Capon, doctor of law, Biſhop of Bangor: being aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Lincoln, and Chriſtopher Biſhop of Sidon.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbiſhop preacheth at Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop preaches up the King's ſupremacy at Canterbury.

IN order to the bettering the ſtate of religion in the nation, the Archbiſhop's endeavours, both with the King and the Clergy, were not wanting from time to time. And ſomething ſoon after fell out, which afforded him a fair opportunity: which was this. The King, reſolving to vindicate his own right of ſupremacy againſt the encroachments of Popes in his dominions, eſpecially now the parliament had reſtored it to him, being at Winchester, ſent for his Biſhops thither about Michaelmas, ordering them to go down to their reſpective dioceſes, and there in their own perſons to preach up the regal authority, and to explain to the people the reaſon of excluding the Pope from all juriſdiction in theſe realms. Our Archbiſhop, according to this command,

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1534.

ſpeeds down into his dioceſe to promote this ſervice for the King, and the church too. He went not into the nearer parts of Kent, about Otford and Knol, where his moſt frequent reſidence uſed to be; becauſe his influence had a good effect for the inſtruction of the people thereabouts in this, as well as in other points of ſound religion: but he repaired into the eaſt parts of his dioceſe, where he preached up and down upon the two articles, of the Pope's uſurpations, and the King's ſupremacy. But the people of Canterbury being leſs perſuaded of theſe points than all his dioceſe beſides, there, in his cathedral Church, he preached two ſermons; wherein he inſiſted upon three things.

I. That the Biſhop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what crafts the Biſhop of Rome had obtained his uſurped authority.

II. That the holineſs that ſee ſo much boaſted of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtyled, was but a holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch holineſs at Rome. And here he launched out into the vices and profligate kind of living there.

III. He inveighed againſt the Biſhop of Rome's laws: which were miſcalled *divinæ leges*, and *ſacri canones*. He ſaid, that thoſe of his laws which were good, the King had commanded to be obſerved: and ſo they were to be kept, out of obedience to him. And here he deſcended to ſpeak of the ceremonies of the Church: that they ought not to be rejected, nor yet to be obſerved with an opinion, that of themſelves they make men holy, or remit their ſins; ſeeing our ſins are remitted by the death of our Saviour Chriſt: but that they were obſerved for a common commodity, and for good order and quietneſs, as the common laws of the kingdom were. And for this cauſe, ceremonies were inſtituted in the Church, and for a remembrance of many good things; as the King's laws diſpoſe men unto juſtice and unto peace. And therefore he made it a general rule, that ceremonies were to be obſerved as the laws of the land were.

A Prior preaches againſt him.

Theſe ſermons of the Archbiſhop, it ſeems, as they were new doctrines to them, ſo they were received by them at firſt with much gladneſs. But the friars did not at all like

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

theſe diſcourſes: they thought ſuch doctrines laid open the truth too much, and might prove prejudicial unto their gains. And therefore, by a combination among themſelves, they thought it convenient that the Archbiſhop's ſermons ſhould be by ſome of their party confuted, and in the ſame place where he preached them. So ſoon after came up the Prior of the black Friars in Canterbury, levelling his diſcourſe againſt the three things that the Archbiſhop had preached. He aſſerted, the Church of Chriſt never erred: that he would not ſlander the Biſhops of Rome; and that the laws of the Church were equal with the laws of God.

This angry Prior alſo told the Archbiſhop to his face, in a good audience, concerning what he had preached of the Biſhop of Rome's vices, that he knew no vices by none of the Biſhops of Rome. And whereas the Archbiſhop had ſaid in his ſermon to the people, that he had prayed many years that we might be ſeparated from that ſee, and that he might ſee the power of Rome deſtroyed, becauſe it wrought ſo many things contrary to the honour of God, and the wealth of the realm: and becauſe he ſaw no hopes of amendment; and that he thanked God he had now ſeen it in this realm; for this the Prior cried out againſt him, that he preached uncharitably.

Whom he convents before him.

The Archbiſhop, not ſuffering his authority to be thus affronted, nor the King's ſervice to be thus hindered, convented the Prior before him before Chriſtmas. At his firſt examination, he denied that he preached againſt the Archbiſhop, and confeſſed that his Grace had not preached any thing amiſs: but ſometime afterward, being got free from the mild Archbiſhop, and being ſecretly upheld by ſome perſons in the combination, he then ſaid, he had preached amiſs in many things, and that he purpoſely preached againſt him. This created the Archbiſhop abundance of ſlander in thoſe parts. The buſineſs came to the King's ears, who ſeemed to require the Archbiſhop to cenſure him in his own court.

The Archbiſhop acquaints the King with the matter.

But upon occaſion of this, the Archbiſhop wrote his whole cauſe in a letter to the King, dated from his houſe at Ford, 1535. declaring what he had preached, and what the other had preached in contradiction to him. And withal entreated

his Majeſty, that he, the Archbiſhop, might not have the judging of him, leſt he might ſeem partial; but that he would commit the hearing unto the Lord Privy Seal, who was Cromwel: or elſe to aſſign unto him other perſons, whom his Majeſty pleaſed; that the cauſe might be jointly heard together. He appealed to the King and his council, "If the Prior did not defend the Biſhop of Rome, though "he had ſaid nothing elſe, than that the Church never "erred. For then they were no errors, as he inferred, that "were taught of the Pope's power; and that he was Chriſt's "vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, "ſpiritual and temporal; and that all people muſt believe "that *de neceſſitate ſalutis;* and that whoſoever did any "thing againſt the ſee of Rome, is an heretic. But if theſe "be no errors, then your Grace's laws, ſaid he, be erroneous, "that pronounce the Biſhop of Rome to be of no more "power than other Biſhops, and them to be traitors, that "defend the contrary." In fine, in the ſtomach of an Archbiſhop, and finding it neceſſary to put a ſtop to the ill deſigns of theſe friars, he concluded, "That if that man, "who had ſo highly offended the King, and openly preach-"ed againſt him, being his ordinary, and metropolitan of "the province, and that in ſuch matters as concerned the "authority, miſliving, and laws of the Biſhop of Rome; and "that alſo within his own Church: if he were not looked "upon, he left it to the King's prudence to expend, what "example it might prove unto others, with like colour to "maintain the Biſhop of Rome's authority; and of what "eſtimation he the Archbiſhop ſhould be reputed hereafter, "and what credence would be given unto his preaching for "time to come." And he left his Majeſty to hear the teſtimony of Dr. Leighton, one of the King's viſitors, who was preſent at the ſermon the Archbiſhop then made. This letter, the contents whereof I have now ſet down, I have placed in the Appendix, as well worthy the preſerving among the reſt of the monuments of this Archbiſhop, as I tranſcribed it out of the Cotton library. I do not find what iſſue this buſineſs had: but I ſuſpect the black Friars of Canterbury had a black mark ſet upon them by the King

CHAP. VIII. Anno 1535.

No. XIII.

BOOK I.

for this oppoſition of his Archbiſhop, in the diſcharge of his commands.

Anno 1535.

A provincial viſitation.

But to ſpeak a little of a provincial viſitation, *jure metropolitico*, which the Archbiſhop had begun the laſt year, *viz.* 1534, being his firſt viſitation. It was ſomewhat extraordinary; for ſuch a viſitation had not been in an hundred years before. For this he got the King's licence to countenance his doings, knowing what oppoſitions he ſhould meet with. In the month of May we find him at his houſe at Otford about this buſineſs; the main end whereof was to promote the King's ſupremacy, and, as opportunity ſerved, to correct the ſuperſtitions of this Church, and to inſpect even Biſhops and Cathedrals themſelves.

Winchester herein oppoſeth him.

In April 1535, Cranmer had ſent his monition to Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he would viſit his dioceſe. The Biſhop, who never loved the Archbiſhop, and being a great upholder of the old popiſh ſuperſtitions, was the more jealous of this viſitation, oppoſing himſelf as much as he could againſt it; and would have picked an hole in Cranmer's coat, for ſtyling himſelf, in the inſtrument of the proceſs, *Totius Angliæ Primas;* as though this had been an high reflection upon the King, and detracted much from his ſupremacy. Of this therefore he went and made a complaint to the King himſelf: and, taking it in ſome indignation that the Archbiſhop ſhould viſit his dioceſe, he pretended to the King, that the Clergy of his dioceſe would be driven to great ſtraits, and mightily oppreſſed, if it ſhould be now viſited again, having been viſited but five years ago by his predeceſſor Warham; eſpecially being alſo to pay a new duty, enjoined by the parliament, namely, their tenths; hoping hereby to evade the Archbiſhop's inſpection into the corruptions of the dioceſe of Wincheſter.

The Archbiſhop's vindication of his title of Primate.

All this Crumwel, his friend, certified him of, by his chaplain, one Champion. Wincheſter indeed, whatſoever he pretended, tendered not ſo much the King's cauſe, as his own, that he might not be viſited. For otherwiſe he would have complained to the King of this matter before Cranmer's ſignification to him of a viſitation, ſince he always bare the title of Primate of all England, as being the common ſtyle of

the Archbiſhop. And if this ſtyle of primacy was a diminu- CHAP. VIII.
tion to the King, it would have been ſo to the Pope, when Anno 1535.
Wincheſter held him, as he did once, for Supreme Head of the Church: but then he never made any complaint againſt thoſe Archbiſhops that ſtyled themſelves Primates. The Pope's ſupreme authority was not leſs thought of becauſe he had ſuch primates under him, but rather more. And the King might therefore have ſuch as were primates under him, without any derogation to his authority. Nor did Cranmer value at all names and titles; and if he thought it any thing interfering with the King's honour, he would himſelf have been the firſt to ſue for the taking it wholly away. This he ſignified in a letter to ſecretary Crumwel; which, becauſe it hath many excellent things declarative of the good temper and ſpirit of Cranmer, I have preſented it to the reader's eye in the Appendix, being an original in the Cotton library. No. XIV.

And as Wincheſter had picked a quarrel with him for one part of his archiepiſcopal ſtyle; ſo Stokeſly Biſhop of London, a man of the ſame inveterate temper againſt Cranmer, refuſed his viſitation, becauſe he ſtyled himſelf in his monitions, *Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus*. For under that title he convented that Biſhop, with the Abbots, Priors, and Archdeacon of London, to appear before him at a viſitation, which he intended to hold at the chapter-houſe in St. Paul's Church, London. But the Biſhop of London, and the chapter, warned him of aſſuming that title, as making againſt the King's prerogative. And at the viſitation itſelf in St. Paul's, they made a proteſtation; which was openly read: the import whereof was, that they would not accept him as ſuch a legate, and neither admit nor ſubmit to his viſitation under that name; and required the Archbiſhop's regiſter to enter their proteſtation: and, upon his refuſal thereof, delivered a certificate of what they had done. Stokeſly alſo contended with him for ſuſpending all the juriſdiction of the Biſhop, Dean, and Archdeacon, during his viſitation. To which the Archbiſhop anſwered, it was no more than his predeceſſors had uſually done in thoſe caſes. In fine, they appealed, in their own juſtification, unto the King, and deſired his licence to defend themſelves againſt him by the

The Biſhop of London refuſeth his viſitation.

BOOK I. Anno 1535.

laws, and as the parliament had provided. Thus they ſhewed before their ſecret malice and violent oppoſition againſt the good Archbiſhop, and how afraid they were of his viſitation; glad to catch any thing to enervate his authority. The ſum of which appeal, drawn up by Stokeſly, being ſomewhat too long to be ſubjoined here, may be read in the Appendix.

No. XV.

And proteſts againſt him.

Finally, upon the Archbiſhop's viſiting of his dioceſe, he entered three proteſtations againſt it (as may appear in Stokeſly's regiſter) for preſerving his privileges.

Cranmer ſends him a part of the New Teſtament to tranſlate. And his anſwer.

This man ever carried himſelf perverſely to the Archbiſhop. It was not long after this time, that the Archbiſhop, whoſe mind ran very much upon bringing in the free uſe of the holy Scripture in Engliſh among the people, put on vigorouſly a tranſlation of it. And, that it might not come to be prohibited, as it had been, upon pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulneſs of the tranſlators, he proceeded in this method. Firſt, he began with the tranſlation of the New Teſtament; taking an old Engliſh tranſlation thereof, which he divided into nine or ten parts; cauſing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be ſent to the beſt learned Biſhops, and others; to the intent they ſhould make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to ſend back their parts, ſo corrected, unto him at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpoſe: and the ſame courſe, no queſtion, he took with the Old Teſtament. It chanced that the Acts of the Apoſtles were ſent to Biſhop Stokeſly to overſee and correct. When the day came, every man had ſent to Lambeth their parts corrected, only Stokeſly's portion was wanting. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to the Biſhop a letter for his part, requiring him to deliver them unto the bringer his ſecretary. He received the Archbiſhop's letter at Fulham: unto which he made this anſwer; "I marvel what my "Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuſeth the people, "in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures: which doth "nothing elſe but infect them with hereſy. I have beſtow-"ed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And "therefore my Lord ſhall have this book again, for I will "never be guilty of bringing the ſimple people into error."

Foxii MSS.

My Lord of Canterbury's ſervant took the book, and brought the ſame to Lambeth unto my Lord, declaring my Lord of London's anſwer. When the Archbiſhop had perceived that the Biſhop had done nothing therein, "I marvel," ſaid he, "that my Lord of London is ſo froward that he "will not do as other men do." One Mr. Thomas Lawney ſtood by; and, hearing my Lord ſpeak ſo much of the Biſhop's untowardneſs, ſaid, I can tell your Grace why my Lord of London will not beſtow any labour or pains this way. Your Grace knoweth well, that his portion is a piece of New Teſtament. But he, being perſuaded that Chriſt had bequeathed him nothing in his Teſtament, thought it mere madneſs to beſtow any labour or pain, where no gain was to be gotten. And beſides this, it is the Acts of the Apoſtles; which were ſimple poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London diſdained to have to do with any of them. Whereat my Lord of Canterbury, and others that ſtood by, could not forbear from laughter.

CHAP. VIII. Anno 1535.

Lawney's jeſt upon Stokeſly.

This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the ſcholars placed by the Cardinal in his new college at Oxon: where he was chaplain of the houſe, and priſoner there with Frith, another of the ſcholars. In the time of the ſix articles he was a miniſter in Kent, placed there, I ſuppoſe, by the Archbiſhop. When that ſevere act was paſſed, more by the authority of a parliament than by the authority of the word of God, it chanced that my Lord of Norfolk, meeting with this his chaplain, ſaid, O, my Lawney, (knowing him of old much to favour prieſts' matrimony,) whether may prieſts now have wives or no? If it pleaſe your Grace, replied he, I cannot well tell whether prieſts may have wives or no: but well I wot, and am ſure of it, for all your act, that wives will have prieſts. Hearken, maſters, ſaid the Duke, how this knave ſcorneth our act, and maketh it not worth a fly. Well, I ſee by it that thou wilt never forget thy old tricks. And ſo the Duke, and ſuch gentlemen as were with him, went away merrily, laughing at Lawney's ſudden and apt anſwer. The reader will excuſe this digreſſion.

Who this Lawney was.

BOOK I.

Anno 1535.

CHAP. IX.

Monaſteries viſited.

Monaſteries viſited. The Archbiſhop for their diſſolution.

THIS year the monaſteries were viſited by Crumwel, chief viſitor: who appointed Leighton, Legh, Petre, London, his deputies, with injunctions given them to be obſerved in their viſitation. Indeed the King now had thoughts of diſſolving them, as well as viſiting them: whoſe ends herein were, partly becauſe he ſaw the monks and friars ſo untoward towards him, and ſo bent to the Pope; and partly to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils. Archbiſhop Cranmer is ſaid alſo to have counſelled and preſſed the King to it: but for other ends, *viz.* That out of the revenues of theſe monaſteries the King might found more biſhoprics; and that, dioceſes being reduced into leſs compaſs, the dioceſans might the better diſcharge their office, according to the Scripture and primitive rules: and becauſe the Archbiſhop ſaw how inconſiſtent theſe foundations were with the reformation of religion; purgatory, maſſes, pilgrimages, worſhip of ſaints and images, being effectual to their conſtitution, as the Biſhop of Sarum hath obſerved. And the Archbiſhop hoped that from theſe ruins there would be new foundations in every cathedral erected, to be nurſeries of learning, for the uſe of the whole dioceſe. But however ſhort our Archbiſhop fell of his ends, deſired and hoped for by theſe diſſolutions, the King obtained his. For the vaſt riches that the religious houſes brought in to the King may be gueſſed by what was found in one, namely, St. Swithin's, Wincheſter: an account of the treaſures whereof I having once obſerved from a manuſcript in the Benet library, thought not amiſs here to lay before the reader; which he may find in the Appendix[a].

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 159, 190.

36

No. XVI.

[a] Note, that the diſſolution of St. Swithin's in Wincheſter, (though laid here under the year 1535,) happened not that year, but about five years after, *viz.* 1540. But the occaſion of the diſcourſe there, which was of the vaſt wealth obtained to the King by the fall of religious houſes, made the author produce it in this place, as an inſtance thereof. *From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*

When theſe viſitors returned home from their viſitation, they came well ſtocked with informations of the looſe, wicked, and abominable lives and irregularities of the chief members of theſe houſes of religion, having by diligent inquiſition throughout all England collected them. Theſe enormities were read publicly in the parliament-houſe, being brought in by the viſitors. When they were firſt read, nothing was done with theſe unclean abbots and priors: "But within a while," ſaith Latimer in a ſermon before King Edward, "how bad ſoever the reports of them were, "ſome of them were made biſhops, and others put "into good dignities in the church: that ſo the King might "ſave their penſions, which were otherwiſe to be paid "them." CHAP. IX. Anno 1535. The viſitors' informations. Second ſermon.

Now I will, at the concluſion of my collections for this year, ſet down the names of the biſhops this year conſecrated, both dioceſan and ſuffragan: there having been an act of parliament made in the ſix and twentieth of the King (that is, the laſt year) for furniſhing the dioceſes with ſix and twenty ſuffragans, for the better aid and comfort of the dioceſans: the fees whereof are all ſet down in the ſaid act. But I doubt whether there were ever ſo many made. At leaſt the mention of the acts of the conſecration of ſome of the ſuffragans in the province of Canterbury are omitted in the regiſter. Biſhops dioceſan and ſuffragan conſecrated.

Before this act of parliament enjoining the number of ſuffragans, ſuffragans were not unuſual in the realm. Whom the biſhops dioceſan, either for their own eaſe, or becauſe of their neceſſary abſence from their dioceſes in embaſſies abroad, or attendance upon the court, or civil affairs, procured to be conſecrated to reſide in their ſteads. Thus to give ſome inſtances of them, as I have met with them. About the year 1531, I find one Underwood, ſuffragan in Norwich, that degraded Bilney before his martyrdom. Certain, bearing the title of Biſhops of Sidon, aſſiſted the Archbiſhops of Canterbury. One of theſe was named Thomas Wellys, Prior of St. Gregory's by Canterbury: he, being Archbiſhop Warham's chaplain, was ſent by him to Cardinal Wolſey, to expoſtulate with him in his Lord's name for encroaching upon his prerogative court. There Suffragan biſhops uſual in the realm.

BOOK I. Anno 1535.

was afterwards one Chriſtopher that bore that title, and aſſiſted Archbiſhop Cranmer about theſe times in ordinations; and another Thomas, entitled alſo of Sidon, ſucceeded. Long before theſe, I find one William Bottleſham Epiſcopus Navatenſis, anno 1382, at the convocation houſe in London, ſummoned againſt the Wicklivites, that then ſhewed themſelves at Oxford. Robert King, Abbot of Oſeney, while abbot, was conſecrated titular biſhop, and called Epiſcopus Roannenſis, a ſee in the province of the archbiſhopric of Athens. This is he that reſigned Oſeney and Tame under the name of Biſhop of Reonen: of which ſee the Biſhop of Sarum was at a ſtand. He was tranſlated from this imaginary biſhopric to be Biſhop of Oxford, in the year 1541. One John Hatton had the title of Epiſcopus Negropont: he was ſuffragan under the Archbiſhop of York. John Thornden, who was ſeveral times commiſſary of Oxon, while Archbiſhop Warham was Chancellor of that Univerſity, was ſtyled Epiſcopus Syrinenſis. And hereafter, in the progreſs of this book, we ſhall meet with a Biſhop of Hippolitanum, who aſſiſted Archbiſhop Cranmer at his ordinations. Theſe were but titulary biſhops; and the uſe of them was, to ſupply the dioceſans' abſence, to conſecrate churches and church-yards, and to reconcile them, to aſſiſt at ordinations, and confer orders, to confirm children, and the like.

Ex Regiſt. Archbiſhop Courtney.

37

Hiſt. Ref. Coll. p. 148. Godwin's Catal.

Ath. Oxonien.

Biſhops without title.

Sometimes theſe ſuffragans had no titles at all to any place, but were biſhops at large. Such an one, named Richard Martin, is met with in an old regiſter at Canterbury, who was guardian of the Gray Friars there. By his laſt will, made 1498, he gave a library to the church and convent. He was Parſon of Ickham, and Vicar of Lyd in Kent; and writ himſelf in the ſaid will, Biſhop of the Univerſal Church: by which the antiquarian ſuppoſed nothing elſe was meant, but that he was a biſhop in name, endued with orders, but not with juriſdiction epiſcopal, having no particular charge to intend, but generally officiating as biſhop in any part of the Chriſtian church. This I have writ, that the reader may not be put to a ſtand, when he ſhall, in theſe commentaries, meet with ſome of theſe titular biſhops.

Sumner's Antiq. of Cant.

But proceed we now to the biſhops that were this year conſecrated. CHAP. IX.

Anno 1535.

Dioceſan Biſhops[b].

April the 11th, Nicholas Shaxton was conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum, in the King's chapel of St. Stephen, by our Archbiſhop, John Biſhop of Lincoln, and Chriſtopher Sidonienſ. aſſiſting. Nic. Shaxton.

September the 15th, was the act of confirmation and election of Edward Fox, elect of Hereford, and of William Barlow, Prior of the priory of canons regular of Biſham, of the order of St. Auguſtin Sarum, for the biſhopric of St. Aſaph. The conſecration of theſe two laſt are not inſerted in the regiſter. Edward Fox. William Barlow.

March the 18th, the act of confirmation and election of George Brown, D. D. Provincial of the order of Friars Auguſtin in the city of London, for the archbiſhopric of Dublin. Conſecrated March the 19th by the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting. George Brown.

Of this laſt mentioned biſhop I ſhall take ſome further notice, having been the firſt proteſtant biſhop in Ireland, as Cranmer was in England; a great furtherer of the reformation in that land, being a ſtirring man, and of good parts and conſidence. He was firſt taken notice of by Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal, and by his ſole means preferred to this dignity in the Church of Ireland; upon the obſervation A memorial of the good ſervices of Archbiſhop Brown in Ireland. Life and Death of George Brown, printed in Dublin.

[b] Among the dioceſan biſhops conſecrated under the year 1535, place Hugh Latymer, conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter, and John Hildeſly, or Hilſey, a friar of the order of preachers, firſt of Briſtow, and afterwards of Oxford, conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter next after John Fiſher, executed for treaſon. Theſe two I had omitted in their places, not meeting with them in Cranmer's regiſter. The former I ſuppoſe was conſecrated with Shaxton in April, as the latter might be with Fox and Barlow in September, his temporalties having been reſtored to him in the beginning of October. This Hilſey was a great aſſiſtant to Archbiſhop Cranmer, and a learned man. He wrote a book of prayers, with epiſtles and goſpels, (in Engliſh, I ſuppoſe,) which he dedicated to the Lord Crumwel; by whoſe command it was publiſhed. *From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*

BOOK I. Anno 1535. 38

that was taken of him, when he was Provincial of the Auguſtin order in England, adviſing all people to make their application only to Chriſt, and not to ſaints: whereby he was recommended unto King Henry, who much favoured him. When the King's ſupremacy was to be brought in and recognized in Ireland, which was the ſame year wherein he was made Archbiſhop; he was appointed one of the King's commiſſioners for the procuring the nobility, gentry, and clergy, to reject the Pope, and to own the King for Supreme Head of the Church. In which commiſſion he acted with that diligence, that it was to the hazard of his life; ſuch oppoſition was made to it in that realm. At which time, in an aſſembly of the clergy, George Dowdal, Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, made a ſpeech to them, and laid a curſe upon thoſe, whoſoever they were, that ſhould own the King's ſupremacy. Within five years after this, this Archbiſhop Brown cauſed all ſuperſtitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches in his dioceſe; and ordered the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be ſet up in frames above the altar in Chriſt's Church, Dublin. In King Edward VI. his reign, he received the Engliſh Common Prayer-Book into that realm, upon the King's proclamation for that purpoſe, after much oppoſition by Dowdal: and it was read in Chriſt's Church, Dublin, on Eaſter-day, 1551. He preached alſo a ſermon in Chriſt's Church for having the Scripture in the mother tongue, and againſt image worſhip: and for this his forwardneſs and conformity in religion, and the perverſeneſs of the other Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, who had violently reſiſted all good proceedings, the title of primacy was taken from him, and conferred upon the Archbiſhop of Dublin: and Dowdal was baniſhed, or, as others ſay, voluntarily left his biſhopric. And then Goodacre, ſent from England with Bale for the ſee of Oſſory, ſucceeded. In Queen Mary's days, Dowdal was reſtored; and, being a great man in this reign, expulſed Archbiſhop Brown from his ſee for being a married man: who two or three years after was ſucceeded by Hugh Corwin, (a complier in all reigns,) and Brown ſoon after died.

CHAP. IX.

Suffragan Biſhops.

The firſt of theſe ſtanding in the regiſter of the Archbiſhop, was the ſuffragan of the ſee of Ipſwich. The Biſhop of Norwich, according to the direction of the late act, (wherein the biſhop was to nominate two for ſuffragan to the King, and the King was to name one of them to the Archbiſhop, to receive conſecration,) humbly ſignified to the King, that he was deſtitute of the aid of a ſuffragan; and ſo prayed him to appoint either George, Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Mary's of Leyſton, or Thomas Mannyng, Prior of the monaſtery of St. Mary's of Butley, to be his ſuffragan; without mentioning for what place. And on the 7th of March, in the 27th of his reign, he ſent to the Archbiſhop to make the latter ſuffragan of Gipwich: who was accordingly conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, and inveſted *in inſigniis Epiſcopalibus*; Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting. The date not ſpecified; but probably on the ſame day with the conſecration following, there being the ſame aſſiſtants. Anno 1535. Thomas Mannyng. Regiſt. Cran. 39

The ſaid Biſhop of Norwich ſent to the King, recommending to him to be ſuffragan Thomas de Caſtleacre, of the Cluniac order, and John Saliſbury, Prior of St. Faith's of Horſham, of the order of St. Benet, both priors of monaſteries in Norwich dioceſe. The King ſent to the Archbiſhop to conſecrate John, the Prior of St. Faith's, for ſuffragan of Thetford. Accordingly he conſecrated him March the 19th, Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting. John Saliſbury.

CHAP. X.

The Audience Court.

THE good Archbiſhop almoſt every year met with new oppoſition from the popiſh clergy. The late act for aboliſhing the Pope's authority, and ſome acts before that, for reſtraining of applications to Rome, ſerved them now as a colour to ſtrike at one of the Archbiſhop's courts, *viz.* that of the audience, (a court which the Archbiſhops uſed to Anno 1536. The Archbiſhop's audience court ſtruck at.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

hold in their own houſes, where they received cauſes, complaints, and appeals; and had learned civilians living with them, that were auditors of the ſaid cauſes, before the Archbiſhop gave ſentence;) pretending that he held it as the Pope's legate: urging alſo the great troubles and inconveniences it cauſed, both to the clergy and the laity; and that every man muſt, by virtue of that court, be forced up to London, from the fartheſt part of the land, for a ſlanderous word, or a trifle. And that they thought it convenient, if it were the King's pleaſure to continue that court, that he would ſettle it upon ſome other, and not upon the Archbiſhop, that ſo it might appear, the original of that court was from the King, and not from the Pope. And laſtly, that it would not be ſafe to conſtitute the Archbiſhop the Pope's legate, becauſe it would infringe the power of the Vicar-general. This was drawn up in way of petition and complaint, either to the King or parliament, by a combination of ſome of the convocation, as I ſuſpect; the paper being writ by the hand of the regiſter of the lower houſe of convocation. The great wheel, we may be ſure, that ſet a moving this device, was Wincheſter, his never-failing adverſary.

The Archbiſhop defends it.

The King, notwithſtanding, bad the Archbiſhop maintain his court. And he anſwered all their pleas againſt it; and by way of proteſtation affirmed, that he kept not his court by virtue of his bull from Rome for legate, and that none could ſuſpect that he did: and that he ſaw no cauſe but that he might keep that court by virtue of the late act of parliament, that gave power to enjoy all things that were before had from the ſee of Rome. And finally, he anſwered, that it was the King's will and command that he ſhould continue his court. To which the convocation, or rather ſome part of it, made a reply, that may be ſeen in the Appendix.

No. XVII.

40 The Archbiſhop promoting a reformation in the convocation.

But notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, (which were thrown in probably to hinder his good deſigns,) the Archbiſhop vigorouſly proſecuted a reformation at this convocation: where, aſſiſted by Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, he earneſtly laboured for the redreſs of ſeveral abuſes and errors in the Engliſh church. And that not without good

ſucceſs at length: for, after much deliberation among the clergy there aſſembled, and much oppoſition too, he got a book of divers good articles to that purpoſe to be agreed upon and ſubſcribed. An account of which by and by ſhall follow. CHAP. X. Anno 1536.

CHAP. XI.

Articles of Religion.

NOW though I do not find the King went ſo far, as that it ſhould be enjoined on all the clergy to own the articles of this book by their own hands ſubſcribed, yet he publiſhed and recommended them to all his loving ſubjects in general, to accept and repute them to be agreeable to God's laws, and proper for the eſtabliſhment of peace and concord: and further probably in prudence the King thought not fit yet to go, conſidering the great diſputes and arguments that had happened in the convocation hereupon. Now becauſe this was one of the great ſervices our pious prelate contributed to the church, and was one of the firſt ſteps made in the reformation of the doctrine and worſhip, it will not be amiſs here, in order to the enlightening this hiſtory, to ſet down the heads of this book, though it be done by others before me. And notwithſtanding what the noble author of the hiſtory of Henry VIII. ſaith, he gathered by ſome records, that this book was deviſed by the King himſelf, and recommended afterwards to the convocation by Crumwel, yet we have reaſon to attribute a great ſhare therein to the Archbiſhop. Articles publiſhed and recommended by the King. Life Hen. VIII p. 466.

They that are minded to ſee a draught of theſe articles from the original, with the royal aſſent prefixed to them, may have it in Dr. Fuller's Church Hiſtory: which, he tells us, he tranſcribed out of the acts of the convocation. The Biſhop of Sarum alſo met with an original of them in the Cotton library, wrote out fairly, as it ſeems, for the King's own uſe, and ſubſcribed with all the hands of the convocation thereunto. He alſo hath inſerted the tranſcript of them in the firſt part of his Hiſtory of the Reformation. The original thereof. Book V. p. 213. Addenda to the collection, Num. 1.

In the rebellion in the north, which happened this year

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

1536, chiefly raiſed by prieſts and friars, many copies of theſe articles (for the book was printed by Barthelet) did Cromwel ſend, by the King's order, to the Duke of Norfolk, the King's lieutenant there, to diſperſe in thoſe parts, together with the original copy itſelf, as it was ſigned by the hands of the convocation, amounting to the number of 116 biſhops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy. Which the ſaid Duke had order to ſhew unto the clergy and others, as occaſion ſerved; that they might underſtand it was a proper act of the church, and no innovation of the King, and a few of his counſellors, as they gave out. And, after he had made his uſe of this original, he was required to reſerve it ſafe for the King. This choice treaſure, which the King himſelf required ſuch care to be taken of, Sir Robert Cotton afterwards procured, at his no ſmall expence, no doubt. It is very fairly written in vellum; and at the bottom of the firſt page is written, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, by Sir Robert's own hand, ſignifying his value of this monument. It is ſtill extant in that incomparable library in the volume Cleopatra E. 5: and there I have ſeen it, and diligently compared it. Excuſe this digreſſion, and I now proceed to the articles themſelves.

The original ſent into the north to ſhew to the rebels.

41

The contents of them.

Theſe articles were of two ſorts: ſome concerning faith, and ſome concerning ceremonies.

The former ſort were digeſted under theſe five titles following.

Articles of faith.

I. *The principal Articles of Faith.* And they were theſe. "That all thoſe things that be comprehended in the whole "body and canon of the Bible, and in the three Creeds, are "true, and conſtantly to be believed. That we take and "hold the ſame for the moſt holy and infallible words of "God. That the articles of the faith, contained in the "Creeds, are neceſſary to be believed for man's ſalvation. "That the ſame words be kept, in which the articles of "faith are conceived. That all opinions contrary to the "articles, and which were condemned in the four firſt "councils, are to be utterly refuſed."

II. *The Sacrement of Baptiſm.* "That it was inſtituted "and ordained by Jeſus Chriſt as neceſſary to everlaſting "life. That by it all, as well infants as ſuch as have the

" uſe of reaſon, have remiſſion of ſins, and the grace and " favour of God offered them. That infants and innocents " muſt be baptized, becauſe the promiſe of grace and ever- " laſting life pertains as well to them as to thoſe who have " the uſe of reaſon: and that therefore baptized infants " ſhall undoubtedly be ſaved. That they are to be baptized, " becauſe of original ſin, which is remitted only by baptiſm. " That they that are once baptized muſt not be baptized " again. That the opinions of Anabaptiſts and Pelagians " are to be held for deteſtable hereſies. That thoſe who, " having the uſe of reaſon, ſhall come to baptiſm, ſhall ob- " tain the remiſſion of all their ſins, if they come thereunto " perfectly and truly repentant, confeſſing and believing all " the articles of the faith, and having firm credence and " truſt in the promiſe of God adjoined to the ſaid ſacra- " ment." CHAP. XI. Anno 1546.

III. *The Sacrament of Penance.* " That that ſacrament " was inſtituted of Chriſt in the New Teſtament, as a thing " ſo neceſſary for man's ſalvation, that no man that after " his baptiſm is fallen again, and hath committed deadly " ſin, can without the ſame be ſaved. That ſuch penitents " ſhall without doubt attain remiſſion of their ſins. That " this ſacrament conſiſts of contrition, confeſſion, and " amendment of life. That contrition conſiſts, firſt, of ac- " knowledgment of our ſins: unto which the penitent is " brought by hearing and conſidering the will of God de- " clared in his laws, and feeling in his own conſcience that " God is angry, and this joined with ſorrow and ſhame, 42
" and fear of God's diſpleaſure. That, ſecondly, it conſiſts " of faith, truſt and confidence in the mercies and goodneſs " of God: whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain " hope, and repute himſelf juſtified, not for any merit or " work done by him, but by the only merits of the blood " of Jeſus Chriſt. That this faith is begotten and confirm- " ed by the application of Chriſt's words and promiſes. " That confeſſion to a prieſt, the ſecond part of penance, is " neceſſary, where it may be had. That the abſolution " given by the prieſt was inſtituted of Chriſt, to apply the " promiſes of God's grace to the penitent. And that the " words of abſolution, pronounced by the prieſt, are ſpoken

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

"by the authority given him by Chriſt. That men muſt "give no leſs faith and credence to the words of abſolution, "pronounced by the miniſters of the church, than they "would give unto the very words and voice of God himſelf. "And that men in no wiſe contemn this auricular con- "feſſion. As to the third part of penance, *viz.* amend- "ment of life, that all are bound to bring forth the fruits of "penance, that is to ſay, prayer, faſting, and alms-deeds, "and to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction in will and deed "to their neighbour, and all other good works, or elſe they "ſhall never be ſaved. That works of charity be neceſſary "to ſalvation. That by penance and ſuch good works we "do not only obtain everlaſting life, but deſerve remiſſion "or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and affliction in this "world." Mark here, by the way, how the doctrine of merits is propounded: our merits do not extend to pardon and everlaſting life, but only to the removal or abatement of temporal afflictions.

IV. *The Sacrament of the Altar.* "That under the form "and figure of bread and wine is verily and ſubſtantially "contained that very ſame body and blood, which was "born of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs. "And that the ſelf-ſame body and blood of Chriſt is diſ- "tributed unto, and received by, all the communicants. "That therefore this ſacrament is to be uſed with all due "reverence and honour. And that before any receive it, "he ought religiouſly to try and ſearch his own conſci- "ence."

V. *Juſtification.* "That the word ſignifies remiſſion of "ſins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace "and favour of God. That ſinners attain this juſtification "by contrition and faith, joined with charity. That neither "our contrition and faith, nor any work proceeding thence, "can merit or deſerve the ſaid juſtification. That the "mercy and grace of the Father, promiſed freely for Chriſt's "ſake, and the merit of his blood and paſſion, be the only "ſufficient and worthy cauſes thereof."

This was the ſum of the articles concerning faith. Thoſe concerning ceremonies followed next: which were like- wiſe compriſed under five titles.

CHAP. XI. Anno 1536. Articles relating to ceremonies.

1. *Of Images.* "That they be repreſenters of virtue and "good example. That they be ſtirrers of men's minds, and "make them often to remember and lament their ſins: "eſpecially the images of Chriſt and our Lady. That it "was meet they ſhould ſtand in the churches, but be none "otherwiſe eſteemed. That the biſhops and preachers dili- "gently teach the people according to this doctrine, leſt 43 "there might fortune idolatry to enſue. That they be "taught alſo that cenſing, kneeling, and offering to images, "be by no means to be done, (although the ſame had "entered by devotion, and fallen to cuſtom,) but only to "God and in his honour, though it be done before the "images."

II. *Of honouring Saints.* "That they are to be honour- "ed, but not with that confidence and honour that is due "only unto God, truſting to attain at their hands that "which muſt be had only of God. That moſt eſpecially "Chriſt is to be lauded and praiſed in them for their ex- "cellent virtues, which he planted in them; and for their "good example. And that they are to be taken, wherein "they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and de- "mands unto Chriſt."

III. *Of praying to Saints.* "That though grace and re- "miſſion of ſins be to be obtained only of God, by the "mediation of Chriſt; yet it is very laudable to pray to ſaints "in heaven to be interceſſors, and to pray for us and with us "unto God, after this manner: *All holy angels and ſaints "in heaven, pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for "his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, we may have grace of him, "and remiſſion of our ſins, with an earneſt purpoſe (not want- "ing ghoſtly ſtrength) to obſerve and keep his holy command- "ments, and never to decline from the ſame again unto our "lives' end.* That in this manner we may pray to our bleſſed "Lady, Saint John Baptiſt, or any other ſaint particu- "larly: ſo that it be done without any vain ſuperſtition; "as to think that any ſaint is more merciful, or will hear "us ſooner than Chriſt; or that any ſaint does ſerve for "one thing more than another. That holy-days are to be "kept to God, in memory of him and his ſaints, upon ſuch

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

"days as the church hath ordained: but may be mitigated "and moderated by the King, being Supreme Head."

IV. *Of Rites and Ceremonies.* "As veſtments in God's "ſervice, ſprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing "candles on Candlemas-day, giving of aſhes on Aſh-Wed- "neſday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to "the croſs, and kiſſing it, and offering unto Chriſt before "the ſame on Good-Friday; ſetting up the ſepulchre of "Chriſt, hallowing of the font, and other like exorciſms "and benedictions, and laudable cuſtoms: that theſe are "not to be contemned and caſt away, but continued, to put "us in remembrance of ſpiritual things. But that none of "theſe ceremonies have power to remit ſin."

V. *Of Purgatory.* "That Chriſtians are to pray for ſouls "departed, and to commit them in their prayers to God's "mercy, and cauſe others to pray for them in maſſes and "exequies; and to give alms to others to pray for them, "that they may be relieved and holpen of ſome part of "their pain. But becauſe the place where they be, the "name thereof, and kinds of pain there, is to us uncertain "by Scripture, therefore we remit this, with all other things, "to almighty God; unto whoſe mercies it is meet to com- "mend them. That ſuch abuſes be put away, which, under "the name of purgatory, have been advanced: as to make "men believe, that, through the Biſhop of Rome's pardons, "ſouls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and "the pains of it: or that maſſes ſaid at *ſcala cœli*, or other- "wiſe in any place, or before any image, might deliver "them from all their pains, and ſend them ſtraight to "heaven."

A conjecture, that the pen of the Archbiſhop was here.

Theſe are the contents of that memorable book of articles. There are reaſons added now and then to confirm the reſpective tenets there laid down, and many quotations of holy Scripture, which, for brevity ſake, I have omitted; which one may conjecture to have been inſerted by the pen of the Archbiſhop: who was the great introducer of this practice, of proving or confuting opinions in religion by the word of God, inſtead of the ordinary cuſtom then uſed, of doing it by ſchoolmen and popiſh canons. We find indeed many

popish errors here mixed with evangelical truths: which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of Gospel doctrine here came to light; and not only so, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practised. The sun of truth was now but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation, and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness. CHAP. XI. Anno 1546.

CHAP. XII.

Cranmer's Judgment about some Cases of Matrimony.

IN this year then came forth two remarkable books; whereof both the King, and the Archbishop and bishops, might be said to be joint composers: inasmuch as they seemed to be devised by the Archbishop, and some of the bishops; and then revised, noted, corrected and enlarged by the King. Two remarkable books published.

The one of these was the book of articles of religion, mentioned before. This book bore this title, *Articles devised by the King's highness to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people, &c.* With a preface by the King: where the King saith, he was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain articles. Which words, I leave to the conjecture of the reader, whether by them he be inclined to think that the King were the first writer of them, or that, being writ and composed by another, they were perused, considered, corrected and augmented by his pen. I. The book of articles.

The other book that came out this year was occasioned by a piece published by Reginald Pole, intituled *De Unione Ecclesiastica*: which inveighing much against the King for assuming the supremacy, and extolling the Pope unmeasur- II. A book against the Pope, called the Bishops' book.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

ably, he employed the Archbiſhop, and ſome other biſhops, to compile a treatiſe, ſhewing the uſurpations of Popes; and how late it was ere they took this ſuperiority upon them, ſome hundred years paſſing before they did it: and that all biſhops were limited to their own dioceſes by one of the eight councils, to which every Pope did ſwear: and how the papal authority was firſt derived from the Emperor, and not from Chriſt. For this there were good arguments taken from the Scriptures and the Fathers. The book was ſigned by both the archbiſhops, and nineteen other biſhops. It was called the Biſhops' book, becauſe deviſed by them.

Herbert's Life of King Henry, p. 418.

Certain caſes of matrimony put to the Archbiſhop.

The Lord Cromwel did uſe to conſult with the Archbiſhop in all his eccleſiaſtical matters. And there happened now, while the Archbiſhop was at Ford, a great caſe of marriage: whom it concerned I cannot tell, but the King was deſirous to be reſolved about it by the Archbiſhop, and commanded Cromwel to ſend to him for his judgment therein. The caſe was threefold.

I. Whether marriage contracted or ſolemnized in lawful age *per verba de præſenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no?

II. Whether ſuch matrimony be conſummate, or no? And,

III. What the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil, after the death of her huſband? This I ſuppoſe was a cauſe that lay before the King and his eccleſiaſtical vicegerent, to make ſome determination of. And I ſuſpect it might relate to Katharine, his late divorced Queen.

His ſolution.

The Archbiſhop, who was a very good civilian, as well as a divine, but that loved to be wary and modeſt in all his deciſions, made theſe anſwers.

That as to the firſt, he and his authors were of opinion, that matrimony contracted *per verba de præſenti*, was perfect matrimony before God. 2. That ſuch matrimony is not utterly conſummated, as that term is commonly uſed among the ſchool-divines and lawyers, but by carnal copulation. 3. As to the woman's demand by the law civil, he therein profeſſed his ignorance. And he had no learned men with him there at Ford to conſult with for their judgments: only Dr. Barbar, (a civilian that he always retained with him,)

who neither could pronounce his mind without his books, and ſome learned men to confer with upon the caſe; but he added, that he marvelled that the votes of the civil lawyer ſhould be required herein; ſeeing that all manner of cauſes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the ſame. And that there were plenty of well-learned men in the civil law at London, that undoubtedly could certify the King's majeſty of the truth herein, as much as appertained unto that law: warily declining to make any poſitive judgment in a matter ſo tickliſh. This happened in the month of January. CHAP. XII. Anno 1536.

And indeed in theſe times there were great irregularities about marriage in the realm; many being inceſtuous and unlawful. Which cauſed the parliament, two or three years paſt, *viz.* 1533. in one of their acts, to publiſh a table of degrees, wherein it was prohibited by God's law to marry. But the act did not cure this evil: many thought to bear out themſelves in their illegal contracts, by getting diſpenſations from the Archbiſhop: which created him much trouble by his denying to grant them. There was one Maſſy, a courtier, who had contracted himſelf to his deceaſed wife's niece. Which needing a diſpenſation, the party got the Lord Crumwel to write to the Archbiſhop in his behalf: eſpecially becauſe it was thought to be none of the caſes of prohibition contained in the act. But ſuch was the integrity of the Archbiſhop, that he refuſed to do any thing he thought not allowable, though it were upon the perſuaſion of the greateſt men, or the beſt friends he had. But he writ this civil letter to the Lord Crumwel upon this occaſion. Refuſeth to grant a diſpenſation for the marriage of a relation.

46

" My very ſingular good Lord, in my moſt hearty wiſe I " commend me unto your Lordſhip. And whereas your " Lordſhip writeth to me in the favour of this bearer, " Maſſey, an old ſervant to the King's highneſs, that being " contracted to his ſiſter's daughter of his late wife deceaſ- " ed, he might enjoy the benefit of a diſpenſation in that " behalf; eſpecially, conſidering it is none of the cauſes of " prohibition contained in the ſtatute: ſurely, my Lord, I " would gladly accompliſh your requeſt herein, if the word " of God would permit the ſame. And where you require Cleopatra E. 5. His letter thereupon.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

"me, that if I think this licence may not be granted by the "law of God, then I ſhould write unto you the reaſons and "authorities that move me ſo to think; that upon declara- "tion unto the King's highneſs, you may confer thereupon "with ſome other learned men, and ſo advertiſe me the "King's farther reſolution. For ſhortneſs of time, I ſhall "ſhew you one reaſon, which is this. By the law of God "many perſons be prohibited which be not expreſſed, but "be underſtood, by like prohibition in equal degree. As "St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the niece is forbid by the law of "God, although it be not expreſſed in Leviticus, that the "uncle ſhall not marry his niece. But where the nephew "is forbid there, that he ſhall not marry his aunt, by the "ſame is underſtood that the niece ſhall not be married "unto her uncle. Likewiſe as the daughter is not there "plainly expreſſed, yet, where the ſon is forbid to marry his "mother, it is underſtood that the daughter may not be "married to her father; becauſe they be of like degree. "Even ſo it is in this caſe and many others. For where it "is there expreſſed, that the nephew ſhall not marry his "uncle's wife, it muſt needs be underſtood that the niece "ſhall not be married unto the aunt's huſband, becauſe that "alſo is one equality of degree. And although I could "allege many reaſons and authorities mo for this purpoſe; "yet I truſt this one reaſon ſhall ſatisfy all that be learned, "and of judgment.

Vid. Fox Acts, p. 960.

"And as touching the act of parliament concerning the "degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not ſo plainly "ſet forth as I would they were. Wherein I ſomewhat ſpake "my mind at the making of the ſaid law, but it was not "then accepted. I required then, that there muſt be expreſſed "mother, and mother-in-law; daughter, and daughter- "in-law; and ſo in further degrees directly upwards and "downwards, *in linea recta;* alſo ſiſter, and ſiſter-in-law; aunt, "and aunt-in-law; niece, and niece-in-law. And this limi- 47 "tation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees "prohibited by God's law, expreſſed and not expreſſed; "and ſhould have ſatisfied this man, and ſuch others which "would marry their nieces-in-law.

"I have no news to ſend you from theſe parts; but I

"much long to hear such news as be concurrent with CHAP. XII.
"you. And therefore if you have any good news, I pray Anno 1536.
"you to send me some. Thus, my Lord, right heartily
"fare you well. At Ford, the 7th day of September.

"Your Lordship's own,

"Tho. Cantuarien."

He restrains the number of proctors.

About this year, as near as I can guess, the Archbishop made an order concerning the proctors of his court of Arches. The numerousness and irregularities of proctors made these civil courts uneasy to the people. Complaints were made of their clamorousness, by reason of the plenty of them, that neither advocates nor judges could be heard: of the injuries they did to advocates, in retaining and concluding causes oftentimes without them: and of thrusting themselves into causes without the knowledge or will of the parties, and such like. The evils of which, long after endured, were endeavoured to be redressed by the canons and constitutions, made in the beginning of the reign of King James I. Our Archbishop conceived that, in order to the reformation of the proctors, it were good to begin at first with a restraint of the numbers of them. Wherefore he decreed, that whereas the number of the proctors in the court of Arches was heretofore about twenty, or four and twenty, and my Lord's grace at liberty to add more; thenceforth no more should be admitted till the number were reduced to ten: and then that number never to be increased. This liberty, which his predecessors always had, he willingly infringed himself of, out of no other intent but for the benefit and ease of the people, whom he saw were enticed to contention by the crafty insinuations of this kind of men, setting neighbours together by the ears for their own lucre. And therefore the fewer of them, the better. And this number he thought sufficient for the necessary business of the court.

Which some complain of to the parliament.

But some looked upon this as a crafty fetch, and plot of the proctors of that time, upon the good nature and pious disposition of the Archbishop: that so all others being excluded from officiating as proctors, they might have all

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

the buſineſs of the Arches in their own hands. And hence might divers abuſes come into that court. And for the confirmation of this order of the Archbiſhop for the tying of his hands, they, who were counſellors to the Archbiſhop in this matter, got it confirmed by the chapter and convent of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury. This giving offence to many, there were ſome who drew up a long paper againſt this order, and preſented it to the conſideration of the parliament; becauſe it could be redreſſed no other way, the Archbiſhop having put it out of his own power to do it. In this paper they ſet forth, that the ſaid ſtatute was prejudi-
48 cial unto the commonwealth, becauſe the number of ten proctors was not ſufficient to diſpatch the cauſes that came into that court: and ſo there muſt be delays and prolix ſuits, while theſe proctors were attending other cauſes in the Archbiſhop's court of audience, and the Biſhop of London's court of conſiſtory. Whereas before it had been ſeen by experience, that twenty proctors could not ſuffice for the managery of the cauſes in theſe courts, without delays and prorogations, from day to day. That cauſes by this means could not be diligently attended, when there were many cauſes, and few proctors to look after them. And hereby many good cauſes were like to periſh for lack of good looking after. That this had occaſioned the proctors to neglect a very good oath, called *Juramentum Calumpniæ*; which was the beſt proviſion that could be againſt unlawful ſuits, and lengthening them out further than was neceſſary. This oath was, that the parties or the proctors ſhould ſwear, that they believed their cauſe was juſt, and that they ſhould not uſe unlawful delays, whereby juſtice might be deferred; that they ſhould anſwer the judge truly to what he ſhould demand of them; that nothing ſhould be given or promiſed to the judges or any other officer, beſides the fees allowed by law; and that they ſhould not procure any falſe witneſs. Again, this paper urged for a good number of proctors, that this would be a means that the judges could not ſo eaſily keep them in ſubjection and fear of them: whereby they had been hindered ſometimes in ſpeaking freely before them in their clients' cauſes. It was urged alſo, that it was a great diſcouragement to young men in

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1536.

ſtudying the law, when there is ſo little proſpect of benefit thereby. Laſtly, that it was contrary to the civil and canon law, that permits any man to be proctor for another, a few excepted. But this paper, notably enough written, may be read at large in the Appendix. And ſo I leave the reader to judge of the expediency of this order of the Archbiſhop, by weighing the Archbiſhop's reaſons with theſe laſt mentioned. Surely this his act deſerved commendation for his good intentions thereby, though ſome leſſer inconveniences attended, which no doubt he had alſo well conſidered before he proceeded to do what he did.

No. XVIII.

The Archbiſhop divorceth Queen Ann. Life of King Henry, p. 446.

When Queen Ann, on May the 2d, was ſent to the Tower, by a ſudden jealouſy of the King her huſband; the next day, the Archbiſhop, extremely troubled at it, ſtruck in with many good words with the King on her behalf, in form of a letter of conſolation to him; yet wiſely making no apology for her, but acknowledging how divers of the Lords had told him of certain of her faults, which, he ſaid, he was ſorry to hear: and concluded, deſiring that the King would however continue his love to the Goſpel, leſt it ſhould be thought that it was for her ſake only that he had favoured it. Being in the Tower, there aroſe up new matter againſt Queen Ann, namely, concerning ſome lawful impediment of her marriage with the King: and that was thought to be a precontract between her and the Earl of Northumberland. Whereupon the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York were made commiſſioners to examine this matter. And ſhe, being before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, confeſſed certain *juſt, true, and lawful impediments*, as the act in the 26 of Henry VIII. expreſſeth it; but not 49
mentioning what they were. So that by that act the ſaid marriage is declared never to have been good, nor conſonant to the laws. Yet the Earl of Northumberland, being examined upon oath before both the Archbiſhops, denied it: upon the truth of which, he received alſo the bleſſed ſacrament. And the Lord Herbert ſaw an original letter to ſecretary Crumwel, to the ſame import. But her confeſſion of it ſo far prevailed with the King, that he would be divorced from her; and with our Archbiſhop, that he performed it by due order and proceſs of law. And an act

BOOK I.

passed, that the marriage between the King and Queen Ann was null and void, and the issue illegitimate.

Anno 1536.

A licence for a chapel. Cran. Regist.

The Archbishop granted a licence, dated July the 24th, with the full consent of Richard Withipol, Vicar of Walthamstow in Essex, to George Monoux, Alderman of London, and Thomas his son, to have the sacrament administered in his chapel, or oratory, in his house De Moones, now a farm near Higham-hill, in the said parish of Walthamstow: indulging therein to the wife of the said Thomas to be purified, or churched, in the same chapel. I the rather mention this, that it may serve to recal the memory of that pious and charitable citizen and draper, Sir George Monoux; who built the fair steeple of that parish-church, and allowed a salary for ever for ringing the great bell at a certain hour in the night and morning the winter half year. He built also the north aisle of the said church; in the glass-windows whereof is yet remaining his coat of arms. In the chancel his body was interred, under a fair altar-monument yet standing. In the church-yard he founded an hospital and free-school, and very liberally endowed it; though now the endowments are sadly diminished. He also made a causeway over Walthamstow-marsh to Lockbridge, over the river Lee, for the conveniency of travellers from those parts to London, and left wherewith to continue and keep it in repair; but that also is lost, and the ruins now only to be seen. But enough of that.

Bucer dedicates this year a book to the Archbishop.

The Germans conceived great hope of good to befal the church by Cranmer's influence and presidency in England; and took their opportunities of addressing to him. This year Martin Bucer published a large book in folio upon the Epistle to the Romans, intituled *Metaphrasis et Enarratio*; and dedicated it in a long Epistle to the Archbishop. Wherein are sundry expressions, which will shew, how well known abroad the Archbishop was already among the Protestants, and what an excellent bishop they looked upon him to be, and how fixed their eyes were upon him for doing great things towards a reformation in England. For thus he writ in this Epistle, *Te omnes prædicant animo præditum Archiepiscopo, et tanti, sicque ad gloriam Christi comparati regni, Primate digno, &c.* "That all men proclaimed him

" endowed with a mind worthy of an Archbiſhop and Pri- CHAP.
" mate of ſo great a kingdom, and ſo diſpoſed to the glory XII.
" of Chriſt. That he had ſo attained to this high eſtate in Anno 1536.
" Chriſt by his ſpiritual wiſdom, holineſs of life, and moſt
" ardent zeal to render Chriſt's glory more illuſtrious; that,
" gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the
" ſheepfold, being indeed diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, he
" always ſought and ſaved that which was loſt, and brought 50
" back Chriſt's poor ſheep to his fold, and the paſtures of
" everlaſting life, when they had been before moſt miſerably
" haraſſed by the ſervants of ſuperſtition, and the emiſſaries
" of the Roman tyranny." And after, ſpeaking of the King's rooting out the uſurpation of the Pope, and his pretended juriſdiction, by taking to himſelf the ſupremacy, the ſaid learned man excited Cranmer to a further reformation, by telling him, " How eaſy now it would be for him, and
" the other archbiſhops and biſhops, who were endued
" with the ſpirit and zeal of Chriſt, from the remainders of
" the eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, to retain what might con-
" tribute to the true edifying of conſciences, the ſaving in-
" ſtruction of youth, and to the juſt diſcipline and polity of
" the whole Chriſtian people. For when the enemies were
" once removed out of the way, there could not then happen
" among us any extraordinary great concuſſion of religion
" and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, or any daſhing one againſt
" another, as among them in Germany of neceſſity came
" to paſs: ſtriving ſo many years, for the Church of Chriſt,
" againſt ſuch obſtinate enemies."

The conſecrations this year were theſe.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Dioceſan Biſhops.

June the 10th, Richard Sampſon, doctor of decrees, and Dean of the King's chapel, was elected and confirmed Biſhop of Chicheſter, by reſignation of Robert Sherburn, who was now very old. No conſecration ſet down in the regiſter. Richard Sampſon. Cran. Regiſt.

June William Rugg, a monk, was conſecrated Biſhop of Norwich. This is omitted alſo, if I miſtake not, in the regiſter. Probably he was conſecrated with Sampſon. William Rugg. Godwin's Catal.

July the 2d, Robert Warton, Abbot of Bermondſey, was conſecrated Biſhop of St. Aſaph, at Lambeth, by the Arch- Robert Warton. Cran. Regiſt.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

biſhop, John Biſhop of Bangor, and William Biſhop of Norwich, aſſiſting.

Suffragan Biſhops.

October 20. William More, B. D. conſecrated Suffragan of Colcheſter, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of the Archbiſhop's letters commiſſional to him, aſſiſted by Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Thomas Biſhop of Sidon. This More held the monaſtery of Walden in Eſſex, an houſe of Benedictines, *in commendam*, (where Audley-end now ſtands,) and ſurrendered it to the King 1539.

CHAP. XIII.

The Biſhops' Book.

Anno 1537. The Biſhops' book by the Archbiſhop's means.

THE pious Archbiſhop thought it highly conducible to the chriſtian growth of the common people, in knowledge and religion, and to diſentangle them from groſs ignorance and ſuperſtition, in which they had been nurſled up by their popiſh guides; that the Ten Commandments, the Lord's 51 Prayer, and the Creed, and the grounds of religion, ſhould be explained ſoundly and orthodoxly, and recommended unto their reading. Wherefore he conſulting with the Lord Cromwel, his conſtant aſſociate and aſſiſtant in ſuch matters; and by his and other his friends, importuning the King, a commiſſion was iſſued out from him, in the year 1537, to the Archbiſhop, to Stokeſly Biſhop of London, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Sampſon of Chicheſter, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and other biſhops and learned divines, to meet together, and to deviſe an wholeſome and plain expoſition upon thoſe ſubjects, and to ſet forth a truth of religion purged of errors and hereſies. Accordingly they met at the Archbiſhop's houſe at Lambeth. Their courſe was, that after they had drawn up their expoſitions upon each head, and agreed thereto, they all ſubſcribed their hands, declaring their conſent and approbation.

CHAP. XIII.

In the diſputations which happened among them in this work, Wincheſter, the Pope's chief champion, with three or four other of the biſhops, went about with all ſubtil ſophiſtry, to maintain all idolatry, hereſy, and ſuperſtition, written in the canon law, or uſed in the church under the Pope's tyranny. But at the laſt, whether overpowered with number, or convinced by the word of God, and conſent of ancient authors, and the primitive church, they all agreed upon, and ſet their hands to a godly book of religion: which they finiſhed by the end of July, and ſtaid for nothing but the Vicar-general's order, whether to ſend it immediately to him, or that the Biſhop of Hereford ſhould bring it with him, at his next coming to the court. But the plague now raging in Lambeth, and people dying even at the palace-doors, the Archbiſhop deſired Crumwel for the King's licence to the biſhops to depart for their own ſafety, their buſineſs being now in effect drawn to a concluſion. Soon after the biſhops and divines parted, and the Archbiſhop haſtened to his houſe at Ford near Canterbury.

Anno 1537. Wincheſter's oppoſition. Fox MS. Life of Cranmer.

The book was delivered by Crumwel to the King; which he at his leiſure diligently peruſed, corrected, and augmented. And then, after five or ſix months, aſſigned Crumwel to diſpatch it unto the Archbiſhop, that he might give his judgment upon the King's animadverſions. A purſuivant brought it to Ford. The Archbiſhop adviſedly read and conſidered what the King had writ; and, diſliking ſome things, made his own annotations upon ſome of the royal corrections: there eſpecially, we may well imagine, where the King had altered the book in favour of ſome of the old doctrines and corruptions. And, when he ſent it back again with thoſe annotations, he wrote theſe lines to Crumwel therewith, on the 25th day of January.

The King makes animadverſions upon it.

"My very ſingular good Lord: After moſt hearty com- Cleopatra E. 5.
"mendations unto your Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to adver-
"tiſe the ſame, that as concerning the book lately deviſed
"by me, and other biſhops of this realm which you ſent
"unto me, corrected by the King's highneſs; your Lord-
"ſhip ſhall receive the ſame again by this bearer, the pur-
"ſuivant, with certain annotations of mine own concerning 52
"the ſame: wherein I truſt the King's highneſs will par-

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

"don my preſumption, that I have been ſo ſcrupulous, and "as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book, "making a great matter of every little fault, or rather "where no fault is at all. Which I do only for this intent; "that becauſe now the book ſhall be ſet forth by his Grace's "cenſure and judgment, I would have nothing therein that "Momus could reprehend. And I refer all mine annota- "tions again to his Grace's moſt exact judgment. And I "have ordered my annotations ſo by numbers, that his "Grace may readily turn to every place. And in the lower "margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find "the numbers, which ſhall direct him to the words, where- "upon I make the annotations. And all thoſe his Grace's "caſtigations, which I have made none annotations upon, "I like them very well. And in divers places I have made "annotations; which places nevertheleſs I miſlike not, as "ſhall appear by the ſame annotations."

Publiſhed. At length this book came forth, printed by Barthelet, in the year 1537, and was commonly called *The Biſhops' Book*, becauſe the biſhops were the compoſers of it. It was intituled, *The Godly and Pious Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man;* and conſiſted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Ave Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the ſeven Sacraments. It was eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, having been ſigned by the two archbiſhops, nineteen biſhops, eight archdeacons, and ſeventeen doctors of divinity and law.

How eſteemed. The opinion that the favourers of the Goſpel had of this book in thoſe times, may appear by what I find in a manuſcript of the life of this Archbiſhop, by an unknown author, Inter Foxii MSS. that wrote it ſoon after the ſaid Archbiſhop's death: "A "godly book of religion, not much unlike the book ſet "forth by King Edward VI. except in two points. The "one was the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacra- "ment of the altar: of the which opinion the Archbiſhop "was at that time, and the moſt part of the other biſhops "and learned men. The other error was of praying, kiſſing, "and kneeling before images: which, ſaith he, was added "by the King, after the biſhops had ſet their hands to the "contrary."

CHAP. XIII. Anno 1537.

But this book came forth again two years after, *viz.* 1540, (unleſs my manuſcript miſtake this year for 1543,) very much enlarged, and reduced into another form, and bearing another name, *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man.* And becauſe the King had put it forth by his own authority, it was called now *The King's Book*, as before it was called *The Biſhops.* But that none might be confounded in theſe books, he may know that there was, in the year 1536, another book alſo called *The Biſhops' Book*, upon the ſame reaſon that this was ſo called, becauſe the archbiſhops and biſhops had the making thereof. It was a declaration againſt the papal ſupremacy, written upon occaſion of Pole's book of Eccleſiaſtical Union, mentioned before. And in the year 1533, there came forth another book in Latin, called *The King's Book*, intituled, *The Difference between the Kingly and Eccleſiaſtical Power:* reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox, the King's almoner. Which was tranſlated into Engliſh, and put forth by Henry Lord Stafford in King Edward's days. The King affecting to be thought learned, affected alſo to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them, but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations.

Enlarged and reprinted.

Lord Herb. Hiſt. p. 418.

Ibid. p. 408.

53

Bale's Cent.

But before we paſs away from hence, it may be convenient to give the reader a little taſte of ſo famous a treatiſe as that Biſhops' book was in thoſe days. And I will do it, not in my own words, but in the words of a very learned and eminent man, the anſwerer to Dr. Martin's book againſt prieſts' marriage, not far from the beginning of Queen Mary, ſuppoſed to be Ponet Biſhop of Wincheſter, then in exile. Applying himſelf, in his preface, unto the Queen's prelates, he told them; "That in their book, intituled, *The* "*Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, preſented by their whole "authorities to the King of famous memory, King Henry "VIII. in the preface thereof they affirmed to his High- "neſs, with one aſſent, by all their learnings, that the ſaid "treatiſe was in all points concordant and agreeable to holy "Scripture: yea, ſuch doctrine, that they would and deſired "to have it taught by all the ſpiritual paſtors to all the "King's loving ſubjects, to be doctrine of faith. And there

Some account of the foreſaid book.

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

"intreating of the facrament of orders, they defired to have "it taught, that we be in no fubjection to the Bifhop of "Rome and his ftatutes, but merely fubject to the King's laws, "under his only territory and jurifdiction. And that the "canons and rules of the church were therefore allowable "in the realm, becaufe the affent of the King and of the "people accepted the fame. And that prieſts and bifhops "whatfoever never had any authority by the Gofpel in "matters civil and moral, but by the grant and gift of "princes; and that it was alway, and ever fhall be, law-"ful unto kings and princes, and to their fucceffors, with "the conſent of their parliaments, to revoke and call again "into their own hands, or otherwife to reftrain all their "power and jurifdiction given and permitted by their "authority, affent or fufferance, &c. Without the which, if "the Bifhop of Rome, or any other bifhop whatfoever, "fhould take upon them any authority or jurifdiction in "fuch matters as be civil, no doubt, faid they, that bifhop "is not worthy to be called a bifhop, but rather a tyrant, "and an ufurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws "of God; and is to be reputed a fubverter of the kingdom "of Chrift. Yea, befides thefe things, and many other, as "he added, they put in our creed, or belief, as an article "of falvation or damnation, that the church of England is "as well to be named a catholic and apoſtolic church, as "Rome church, or any other church where the Apoſtles "were reſident. And that they willed us to believe in our "faith, that there is no difference in fuperiority, preemi-"nence, or authority, one over the other, but be all of equal "power and dignity; and that all churches be free from "the fubjection and jurifdiction of the church of Rome. And "that no church is to be called fchifmatical, as varying "from the unity of the church of Chrift, if it perfift in the
54 "unity of Chrift's faith, hope, and charity, and unity of "Chrift's doctrine and facraments, agreeable to the fame "doctrine.

Defence of Prieſts' Mar. p. 226.

"And that it appertained to chriften kings and princes, "in the difcharge of their duty to God, to reform and "reduce again the laws to their old limits and priſtine ſtate, "of their power and jurifdiction, which was given them by

" Chriſt, and uſed in the primitive church. For it is, ſay " they, out of all doubt, that Chriſt's faith was then moſt " firm and pure, and the ſcriptures of God were then beſt " underſtood, and virtue did then moſt abound and excel. " And therefore the cuſtoms and ordinances then uſed and " made, muſt needs be more conform and agreeable unto " the true doctrine of Chriſt, and more conducing to the " edifying and benefit of the church of Chriſt, than any " cuſtom or laws uſed or made ſince that time. This he " collected out of their expoſition of the ſacrament of " orders."

The ſaid learned author obſerved, that this doctrine was ſet forth by the whole authority of the biſhops in thoſe days, preſented by the ſubſcription of all their names. And ſince the time of their preſenting thereof, by the ſpace almoſt of twenty years, (that is, to the middle of Queen Mary,) never revoked, but continually from time to time taught by this book, and by ſuch other declarations.

Names of the compoſers.

And that one more particular relating to this book may be known, namely, who the biſhops and other divines were that compoſed it, and that were commiſſioned ſo to do, I ſhall record their names, as they were found writ by the hand of Dr. Sam. Ward, in his own book, now in the poſſeſſion of N. B. a reverend friend of mine; who hath well deſerved of this hiſtory.

Thomas Cant. Jo. Lond. Steph. Winton. Jo. Exon. Jo. Lincoln. Jo. Bathon. Roland. Coven. et Lich. Tho. Elien. Nic. Sarum. Jo. Bang. Edward Heref. Hugo. Wigorn. Jo. Roffen. Ric. Ciceſtr. Guilielm. Norv. Guilielm. Menevenſ. Rob. Aſſav. Rob. Landav. Edoard Ebor. Cuthb. Dunelm. Rob. Carliolen.

Richard. Wolman, Archidiac. Sudbur. Guil. Knight, Archid. Richmon. Jo. Bell, Archid. Gloc. Edmund. Bonner, Archid. Leiceſtr. John Skip, Archid. Dorſet. Nic. Hethe, Archid. Staffford. Cuthb. Marſhal, Archid. Nottingham. Rich. Curren, Archid. Oxon.

Guliehn. Cliff, Galfridus Downes, Robertus Oking, Radul. Bradford, Richardus Smith, Simon Matthew, Joannes Pryn, Guliel. Buckmaſter, Guliel. May, Nic. Wotton, Ric. Coxe, Joannes Edmunds, Thomas Robertſon, Joannes Baker, Tho-

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

mas Barret, Joannes Haſe, Joannes Tyſon, ſacræ theologiæ, juris eccleſiaſtici et civilis profeſſores.

In the year 1543. the ſame book was printed again, amended much both in ſenſe and language: yet not having any ſtep in the progreſs of the reformation more than the former, each edition expreſs poſitively the corporal preſence in the ſacrament. But in this is much added about free-will, which it aſſerts, and good works. In 1544, the ſame was printed again at London in Latin, intituled, *Pia et Catholica Chriſtiani Hominis Inſtitutio.*

55

CHAP. XIV.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

Goes down into his dioceſe.

AS ſoon as this buſineſs was over with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops at Lambeth, no parliament ſitting this year, and a plague being in London and Weſtminſter, he went down, as was ſaid before, into his dioceſe. But before he went, he expreſſed a great deſire to wait upon the King, being then, I ſuppoſe, at Hampton-Court, or Windſor; but he feared he ſhould not be permitted, coming out of the ſmoaky air, as he wrote to the Lord Crumwel, in that time of infection. Yet he deſired to know the King's pleaſure by him. He had a mind indeed to leave ſome good impreſſions upon the King's mind in the behalf of the book, that he and the reſt had taken ſuch pains about, and but newly made an end of. But whether he ſaw the King now or no, he had his commiſſion, and took it down with him. Which he adviſedly did, the better to warrant and bear him out in what he intended to do in his dioceſe, which he purpoſed to viſit.

Gets a licence to viſit.

This was a year of viſitation. For there was a new viſitation now again appointed throughout all England; to ſee how the people ſtood affected to the King, to diſcover cheats and impoſtures, either in images, relicks, or ſuch like. The Archbiſhop alſo thinking good now to viſit his dioceſe, procured the licence of the vicegerent, Lord Crumwel, ſo to do:

CHAP. XIV. Anno 1537.

becauſe, I ſuppoſe, all other viſitations were to ceaſe, to give way to the King's viſitation. And to render his power of viſiting the more unqueſtionable, and void of ſcruple, he deſired the Vicegerent, that, in drawing up of his commiſſion, his licence to viſit might be put into it by Dr. Peter; who was then, if I miſtake not, maſter of the faculties to the ſaid Vicegerent, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate. And becauſe he would not do any thing without the counſel and allowance of the Vicegerent, he aſked his advice, how he ſhould order in his viſitation ſuch perſons as had tranſgreſſed the King's injunctions. Which came out the year before under Crumwel's name: whereof ſome were for the reſtraint of the number of holy-days, a great cauſe of ſuperſtition, and of the continuance of it. And afterwards other injunctions came out: whereof the firſt was, that in all pariſhes, once every Sunday, for a quarter of a year together, the ſupremacy ſhould be taught, and the laws to that intent read. Theſe injunctions were in number eleven, as they are ſet down in the Lord Herbert's hiſtory. Pag. 472.

The Vicar of Croydon.

The Vicar of Croydon, under the Archbiſhop's noſe, had been guilty of certain miſdemeanors: which, I ſuppoſe, were ſpeaking or preaching to the diſparagement of the King's ſupremacy, and in favour of the Pope. Now before he went into the country, and having as yet divers biſhops and learned men with him at Lambeth, he thought it adviſable to call this man before them at this time. But before he would do it, he thought it beſt to conſult with Crumwel, and take his advice, whether he ſhould now do it, and before theſe biſhops or not: ſo tickliſh a thing then was it for the biſhops to do any things of themſelves without the privity and order of this great Vicegerent. Cranmer was aware of it, and therefore required direction from him in every thing. 56

The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe.

But whatſoever was done with this Vicar, the Archbiſhop was ſoon down in his dioceſe; and, having taken an account of the people and clergy, what conformity they bare to the King's laws and injunctions; he found them ſuperſtitiouſly ſet upon the obſervation of their old holy-days. Some whereof he puniſhed, and others he admoniſhed, according to the degree of their crimes. And he diſcovered the chief

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

cauſe to lie in the curates and prieſts, who did animate the people to what they did: indeed their intereſt and gain was concerned. The great inconvenience of theſe holy-days lay partly in the numerouſneſs of them: ſo that the attendance upon them hindered diſpatching, and doing juſtice in Weſtminſter Hall in the terms, and the gathering in harveſt in the country: partly in the ſuperſtitions that theſe holy-days maintained, in the idolatrous worſhip of ſuppoſed ſaints; and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenneſs, that theſe times were celebrated with among the common people; and laſtly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner ſort, being detained from going about their ordinary labours and callings, to provide for themſelves and families.

What courſe he took for the preventing of ſuperſtition.

For the prevention of theſe ſuperſtitions for the future, and to make the people more obedient to the King's laws, he gave out ſtrict orders to all parſons of pariſhes, upon pain of deprivation, that they ſhould cauſe the abrogated holy-days not to be obſerved for the future; and to preſent to the Archbiſhop all perſons in their reſpective pariſhes, as ſhould do contrary to any of the King's ordinances already ſet forth, or that ſhould be hereafter by his authority, relating to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church. And this courſe he conceived ſo good an expedient, that he counſelled the Lord Vicegerent, that all biſhops in their ſeveral dioceſes might be commanded to do the ſame, for the avoiding of diſobedience and contention in the realm. By which means, he ſaid, "the evil-will of the people "might be conveyed from the King and his council, upon "the ordinaries: and ſo the love and obedience of the "people better ſecured to their ſovereign." Such was his care of his prince, to preſerve him in the affections of his people, that he was willing to take upon himſelf their enmity, that it might not light upon the King. But Cranmer had obſerved theſe holy-days were kept by many, even in the court under the King's eye; which he well knew was an example and encouragement to the whole nation. And therefore he ſignified to the Lord Crumwel, that they could never perſuade the people to ceaſe from keeping them, when the King's own houſehold were an example unto

the reſt to break his own ordinances. See his letter to Crumwel in the Appendix.

CHAP. XV.

57

The Bible printed.

HE was now at Ford; and it was in the month of Auguſt, when ſomething fell out that gave the good Archbiſhop as much joy as ever happened to him in all the time of his prelacy. It was the printing of the Holy Bible in the Engliſh tongue in the great volume: which was now finiſhed, by the great pains and charges of Richard Grafton the printer. Oſiander, who knew the Archbiſhop well when he was the King's ambaſſador in Germany, ſaith of him, that he was *ſacrarum literarum ſtudioſiſimum*. Indeed he always had a great value for the Scriptures, becauſe they were the word of God: and extraordinary deſirous he was, from the very firſt entrance upon his biſhopric, that the people might have the liberty of reading it; and, for that purpoſe, to have it interpreted into the vulgar language. And ſo, by Crumwel's means, he got leave from the King that it might be tranſlated and printed. The care of the tranſlation lay wholly upon him; aſſigning little portions of this holy book to divers biſhops and learned men to do; and, being diſpatched, to be ſent back to him. But he could not ſee his deſire effected by theſe men, till it was happily done by other hands: and, to his inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, he ſaw the work finiſhed in this year, about July or Auguſt.

His joy at the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible.

As ſoon as ſome of the copies came to his hand, one he ſent to Crumwel, entreating him that he would preſent it from him to the King, (and no queſtion he thought it the nobleſt preſent that ever he made him;) and withal to intercede with his Majeſty, that the ſaid book might by his authority be both bought and uſed by all indifferently. Both which Crumwel did. For which the Archbiſhop was full of gladneſs and gratitude; and wrote two letters to him

Preſents one by Crumwel to the King.

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

foon after one another, wherein he thanked him moſt heartily, telling him, "How he had hereby made his "memory famous to poſterity within the realm, among all "ſuch as ſhould hereafter be favourers of God's word: "and that he ſhould hear of this good deed of his at the laſt "day. That for his part, it was ſuch a content to his mind, "that he could not have done him a greater pleaſure, if he "had given him a thouſand pounds. And that ſuch know-"ledge would enſue hereupon, that it ſhould appear he had "done excellent ſervice both to God and the King." He alſo particularly ſpake of the Biſhop of Worceſter, how highly obliged he was ſure he was to him for this. But I refer the reader to his own letters, which follow.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 329. Cranmer's Letters to Crumwel.

"My very ſingular good Lord; in my moſt hearty wiſe I "commend me unto your Lordſhip. And whereas I under-"ſtand, that your Lordſhip at my requeſt hath not only "exhibited the Bible which I ſent unto you to the King's "Majeſty, but alſo hath obtained of his Grace, that the "ſame ſhall be allowed by his authority to be bought and "read within this realm; my Lord, for this your pains,
58 "taken in this behalf, I give you my moſt hearty thanks: "aſſuring your Lordſhip, for the contentation of my mind, "you have ſhewed me more pleaſure here, than if you had "given me a thouſand pounds; and I doubt not but that "hereby ſuch fruit of good knowledge ſhall enſue, that it "ſhall well appear hereafter what high and excellent ſer-"vice you have done unto God and the King. Which "ſhall ſo much redound to your honour, that, beſides God's "reward, you ſhall obtain perpetual memory for the ſame "within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me "your bondman for the ſame. And I dare be bold to ſay, "ſo may ye do my Lord of Worceſter. Thus, my Lord, "right heartily fare ye well. At Ford, the xiii day of "Auguſt.

"Your own boundman ever,

"T. Cantuarien."

And in another letter, fifteen days after, he again renewed his thanks,

CHAP. XV.

"My very ſingular and ſpecial good Lord; in my moſt "hearty wiſe I commend me to your Lordſhip. Theſe ſhall "be to give you moſt hearty thanks, that any heart can "think, and that in the name of them, which favour God's "word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the "King's highneſs to ſet forth the ſaid God's word, and his "Goſpel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not "only the King's Majeſty, but alſo you, ſhall have a per-"petual laud and memory of all them that be now, or here-"after ſhall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of "his word. And this deed you ſhall hear of at the great "day, when all things ſhall be opened, and made manifeſt. "For our Saviour Chriſt ſaith in the ſaid Goſpel, that who-"ſoever ſhrinketh from him and his word, and is abaſhed to "profeſs and ſet it forth before men in this world, he will "refuſe him at that day: and contrary, whoſoever con-"ſtantly doth profeſs him and his word, and ſtudieth to ſet "that forward in this world, Chriſt will declare the ſame at "the laſt day before his Father and all his angels, and take "upon him the defence of thoſe men."

Anno 1537. Cleopatra E. 6. p. 292.

Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible.

Now becauſe by theſe letters of the Archbiſhop it appears how inſtrumental Crumwel was, when the Bible was printed, to procure the ſetting it forth by the King's authority, I will here relate more at large what countenance and aſſiſtance he gave to this pious work all along, and thoſe that were concerned and employed in the doing of it.

The Bible, as Fox ſpeaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again four or five years after. The undertakers and printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a Canon of St. Paul's in King Edward's time, and the firſt martyr in the next reign. The tranſlator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr, with the help of Miles Coverdale, after Biſhop of Exeter. But before all this ſecond edition was finiſhed, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536. And his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an heretic, they thought it might prejudice the book, if he ſhould be named for the

59

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

translator thereof: and so they used a feigned name, calling it Thomas Matthew's Bible; though Tyndal, before his death, had finished all but the Apocrypha, which was translated by Rogers abovesaid, who added also some marginal notes. In this Bible were certain prologues, and a special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and texts of Scripture for proving the same; and chiefly the common places of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of priests, and the mass: of which it was there said, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the clergy offence, was gotten to be restrained.

The printer's thanks and requests to Crumwel.

When Grafton had finished this work, and printed off fifteen hundred Bibles at his great charge, amounting to five hundred pounds, (a round sum in those days,) the Lord Crumwel desired to have six of his books: which he forthwith sent by his servant, a clear man of all suspicion of any infection, coming that day out of Flanders, Grafton not adventuring to come himself with the books, because of the infection at London, where he was. These books therefore he sent, together with a letter of thanks for being so assistant in the publication, (which, as he writ in his letter, the Archbishop said, the tidings of did him more good than the gift of ten thousand pounds,) and for procuring the King's licence, which was thought fit to be signified in the title page in red letters, thus, *Set forth by the King's most gracious licence.* But several would not believe the King had licensed it: and therefore he desired further of Crumwel, that he would get it licensed under the privy seal, which would be a defence for the present, and for the future. But take the letter as Grafton himself penned it.

Grafton to Crumwel. Cleopatra E. 5.

"Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, "that, according to your request, I have sent your Lordship "six Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myself, "but because of the sickness which remaineth in the city: "and therefore I have sent them by my servant, which this "day came out of Flanders. Requiring your Lordship, if "I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my "simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains; for "which the heavenly Father is bound, even of his justice, to

" reward you with the everlaſting kingdom of God. For CHAP.
" your Lordſhip's moving our moſt gracious Prince to the XV.
" allowance and licenſing of ſuch a work, hath wrought Anno 1537.
" ſuch an act worthy of praiſe, as never was mentioned in
" any chronicle in this realm: and, as my Lord of Canter-
" bury ſaid, the tidings thereof did him more good than
" the gift of 10000l. yet certain there are which believe
" not, that it pleaſed the King's Grace to licence it to go
" forth. Wherefore if your Lordſhip's pleaſure were ſuch,
" that we might have it licenſed under your privy ſeal, it 60
" would be a defence at this preſent, and in time to come,
" for all enemies and adverſaries of the ſame. And foraſ-
" much as this requeſt is for the maintenance of the Lord's
" word, which is to maintain the Lord himſelf, I fear not
" but that your Lordſhip will be earneſt therein. And I
" am aſſured that my Lord of Canterbury, Worceſter, and
" Saliſbury, will give your Lordſhip ſuch thanks as in
" them lieth. And ſure ye may be, that the heavenly
" Lord will reward you for the eſtabliſhment of his glorious
" truth. And what your Lordſhip's pleaſure is in this re-
" queſt, if it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to inform my
" ſervant, I and all that love God heartily are bound to
" pray for your preſervation all the days of our life. At
" London the xxviii day of this preſent month of Auguſt,
" 1537.

" Your orator while he liveth,

" Richard Grafton, Grocer."

The printer apprehenſive of another edition.

And as this printer had addreſſed to Crumwel for the privy ſeal, ſo he apprehended now a further need of the corroboration of authority upon another account. For ſome, obſerving how exceeding acceptable the Engliſh Bible was to the common people, were deſigning to print it in a leſs volume and ſmaller letters, whereby it would come to paſs, that Grafton would be underſold; and ſo he and his creditors would be undone: and beſides, it was like to prove a very ill edition, and very erroneous. Inſomuch that Grafton affirmed, they would commit as many faults as there were ſentences in the Bible. And it muſt needs be ſo, becauſe then the printers were generally Dutchmen

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

within the realm, that could neither ſpeak nor write true Engliſh: nor for covetouſneſs-ſake would they allow any learned men at all to overſee and correct what they printed, as formerly it had been printed, but paper, letter, ink and correction would be all naught. Therefore he deſired one favour more of the Lord Cromwel; and that was, to obtain for him of the King, that none ſhould print the Bible for three years but himſelf. And to move him, he ſaid he was ſure the Biſhop of Canterbury, and other his ſpecial friends, would not be unthankful to him. He urged to him, that his whole living lay upon this point. And for the better and quicker ſale of his books, he deſired alſo, that, by his commandment in the King's name, every curate might be obliged to have one; that they might learn to know God, and to inſtruct their pariſhioners; and that every abbey ſhould have ſix, to be laid in ſeveral places of the convent. He wiſhed ſome commiſſions might be iſſued out to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops of Sarum and Worceſter; and they would readily cauſe this to be done in their dioceſes. To which he earneſtly added his own arguments to provoke Cromwel to yield to his requeſt.

Other requeſts of the printer.

No. XX. This letter may be found in the Appendix.

CHAP. XVI.

Many Suffragan Biſhops made.

The feaſt of St. Thomas, &c. forbid.

IT was now forbidden by the parliament, and, in purſuance thereof, by the biſhops in their ſeveral dioceſes, that the feaſt of St. Thomas a Becket, the pretended martyr, ſhould be celebrated any more; nor of St. Laurence, nor of divers others, the feaſts of the twelve Apoſtles excepted, and of our Lady, St. Michael, and Mary Magdalene. Alſo the feaſt of the holy croſs was forbid; and commanded, that none ſhould preſume to keep thoſe feaſts holy; that is, they ſhould ring no bells, nor adorn their churches, nor go in proceſſion, nor do other ſuch-like things as belonged to the celebration of feſtivals. So when St. Thomas's eve

Auguſt. Monks Journal.

came, which had uſed conſtantly by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, and their domeſtics, to be celebrated by faſting, Archbiſhop Cranmer took no notice of that eve, but eat fleſh, and ſupped in his parlour with his family. Which created much obſervation, it having never been ſeen before; the Archbiſhop thinking it unworthy that a man of that devotion to the ſee of Rome, and diſloyalty to his natural prince, ſhould be ſo religiouſly commemorated. CHAP. XVI. Anno 1537.

A Biſhop Dioceſan Conſecrated.

March the 25th, Robert Holgate, Maſter of the order of Sempringham, was conſecrated Biſhop of Landaff, in the chapel of St. Mary in the conventual church of Friars Preachers of the city of London, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop to him; John Biſhop of Bangor, and Nicolas Biſhop of Sarum, aſſiſting. This Holgate was either Abbot or Prior of St. Mary Watte, an houſe of Gilbertines, which he held *in commendam*, and ſurrendered in the year 1539. Robert Holgate conſecrated biſhop.

Suffragan Biſhops.

June the 24th, John Bird, S. Th. P. Provincial of the order of Friars Carmelites of the city of London, was conſecrated ſuffragan of the ſee of Penrith, in Landaff dioceſe. And, John Bird.

Lewis Thomas, formerly Abbot of the monaſtery of Kynmer, ſuffragan Biſhop of the ſee of Salop; both conſecrated at Lambeth by the Archbiſhop. The aſſiſtant biſhops at this conſecration not mentioned in the regiſter. Lewis Thomas.

Of Bird, a word or two; I find him in Norwich about the year 1531, buſy with Bilney before his death. He was a perſon King Henry made uſe of; for in the year 1535, he, with Fox the almoner, and Bedel, a clerk of the council, were ſent to Queen Katharine, divorced from the King, to forbear the name of Queen: which nevertheleſs ſhe would not do. He preached certain ſermons before the King againſt the Pope's ſupremacy. Bale, in his expoſition upon the Revelations, makes him to be one of the ten horns that ſhall hate the whore. Godwin aſſerts of him, that he was once Biſhop of Oſſory. Bale, in his Centuries, mentions not Some account of Bird. Lord Herbert's Hiſt. Hen. VIII.

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

at all his being an Iriſh biſhop; but, naming his preferments, firſt calls him *Epiſcopus Penricenſis*: in 1539, made Biſhop of Bangor; and removed to Cheſter 1541. He was married, and therefore, upon Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown, was deprived of his biſhopric; but complied with the old religion. I find him alive in the year 1555, being then at Fulham at Biſhop Bonner's, and there he lodged. Upon his coming, he brought his preſent with him, a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wine. While he was here, he exhorted Mr. Hawkes, convented for pretended hereſy before Bonner, to *learn of his elders, and to bear with ſome things, and be taught by the church, and not to go too far.* In that Queen's reign he became Bonner's ſuffragan, and Vicar of Dunmow in Eſſex.

Fox's Acts.

Thomas Morley.

November the 4th, Thomas Morley, formerly Abbot of Stanley in Sarum dioceſe, of the Ciſtertian order, was conſecrated, in the chapel of Lambeth, ſuffragan of the ſee of Marlborough, by the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Lincoln, and John Biſhop of Roche ſter.

Richard Yngworth.

December the firſt, the Archbiſhop, according to the direction of the act for ſuffragan biſhops, nominated to the King two perſons, out of which he might elect a ſuffragan for Dover, *viz.* Richard Yngworth, Prior of the priory of Langley Regis, and John Codenham, both doctors in divinity. December the 8th, the King anſwered Cranmer's letter by his privy ſeal: wherein he appointed Yngworth to be conſecrated for his ſaid ſuffragan. And accordingly December the 9th, John Biſhop of London, by virtue of commiſſional letters from the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Roche ſter, and Robert Biſhop of St Aſaph, conſecrated the ſaid Yngworth. On the 10th, the Archbiſhop iſſued out his commiſſion to the ſaid ſuffragan, ordaining him his ſuffragan by thoſe preſents, until he ſhould think fit to withdraw his ſaid commiſſion again: ſignifying, that what he was to do was within his dioceſe and city of Canterbury, and juriſdiction of Calais, and the marches thereof; to confirm children, to bleſs altars, chalices, veſtments, and other ornaments of the church; to ſuſpend places and churches, and to reconcile them; to conſecrate churches and altars new ſet up; to confer all the leſſer orders; to conſecrate

holy oil of chrifm and holy unction; and to perform all other things belonging to the office of a bifhop. The Bifhop's letter to the King, defiring him to appoint him a fuffragan out of thofe two above named, and the Archbifhop's commiffional letters to fuffragan Yngworth, may be feen in the Appendix. And he that is minded to read the form of the King's mandate to the Archbifhop for making a fuffragan, may find it in the Hiftory of the Reformation.

CHAP. XVI. Anno 1537.

No. XXI. No. XXII. Vol. i. Collect. 51. book 2.

The reafon why the Archbifhop all this while, that is, from the firft making the act in the year 1534, to this time, had nominated none for fuffragan to this fee till now, might be, becaufe there feemed to be a fuffragan already, even the fame that had been in the time of Archbifhop Warham, namely, John Thornton, Prior of Dover; who was one of the witneffes appointed by that Archbifhop to certify what was found and feen at the opening of St. Dunftan's tomb. Richard Thornden feems to have fucceeded Yngworth in this office fome years after; and was very dear to the Archbifhop, having been by him preferred to be Prebend of Canterbury; though he proved very falfe to him, and was among thofe that made a treacherous combination againft him in the year 1543: and in Queen Mary's time became a great perfecutor.

John Thornton fuffragan. See Sumner's Hift. Cant. Append. p. 423. Richard Thornden. 63

December the 9th, John Hodgkin, profeffor of divinity, was confecrated at the fame time, and by the fame bifhops as above; but to what fee is not mentioned. The Bifhop of London, together with this Hodgkin, had nominated to the King Robert Steuddel, profeffor of divinity. Both he recommended to the King, by letters, to be made fuffragans at large, without mention of any fee in his diocefe; but only expreffing that his diocefe wanted the comfort of fuffragans, that might bear a part in his cure; and fo mentioned thofe two: adding, that the King might appoint them to fome fee within the province of Canterbury. Hodgkin, if I miftake not, was confecrated fuffragan of Bedford: and was afterwards one of thofe that affifted at the confecration of Archbifhop Parker. He was a Black Friar. In the year 1531, he, with Bird, laboured with Bilney at Norwich, a little before his death, to bring him off from the doctrines for which he was condemned. After-

John Hodgkin.

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

wards Hodgkin coming nearer under the Archbiſhop's eye, by his means came to better knowledge in religion, and married a wife; but in Queen Mary's time put her away.

Henry Holbeach.

March 24. Henry Holbeach, Prior of the cathedral church of Wigorn, S. T. P. (Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn having recommended him to the King for Suffragan Biſhop of Briſtow,) was accordingly conſecrated in the Biſhop of London's chapel, in the ſaid Biſhop's houſe, ſituate in Lambeth-marſh, by the ſaid Biſhop; Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn, and Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, aſſiſting.

CHAP. XVII.

The Bible in Engliſh allowed.

Anno 1538. The Archbiſhop reads upon the Hebrews.

THE next year I find the careful Archbiſhop again at Canterbury, looking after his charge. And here he read lectures upon the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the chapter-houſe of the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.

A declaration for reading the Bible.

Now, *viz.* 1538, the holy Bible was divulged, and expoſed to common ſale; and appointed to be had in every pariſh-church. And then, that the ſacred book might be uſed with the more benefit, both of the clergy and laypeople, for this reaſon a declaration was iſſued out, to be read openly by all curates, upon the publiſhing of this Bible: ſhewing the godly ends of his Majeſty in permitting it to be in Engliſh; and directions how they ſhould read and hear it. Namely, to uſe it with reverence and great devotion: to conform their lives unto it; and to encourage thoſe that were under them, wives, children, and ſervants, to live according to the rules thereof: that in doubtful places they ſhould confer with the learned for the ſenſe, who ſhould be appointed to preach and explain the ſame, and not to contend and diſpute about them in ale-houſes and taverns. They that are minded to read this declaration, may find it in the Appendix. This Bible was of ſo quick ſale, that two years after it was printed again.

64

No. XXIII.

CHAP. XVII. Anno 1538.

It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquisitive after those that suffered for religion in the former reigns, asked him, if he knew any that were persecuted for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that he might add it to his book of martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in King Henry's reign for it. And when Fox was very inquisitive who he was, and what was his name, he confessed it was himself: and upon his desire he wrote out all the circumstances. Namely, that when the King had allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in all churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Essex, where his father lived and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading of it in the lower end of the church: many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the Gospel. But his father observing it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to say the Latin mattins with him: which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father still would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself: which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-straw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse

The Bible received and read with great joy.

Inter Foxii MSS.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breaſt then uſed, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on proceſſion: this he told his mother was plain idolatry, and againſt the commandment of God, where he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worſhip it.* His mother, enraged at him for this, ſaid, "Wilt thou not worſhip the croſs, which was about thee when thou wert chriſtened, and muſt be laid on thee when thou art dead?" In this heat the mother and ſon departed, and went to their beds. The ſum of this evening's conference ſhe preſently repeats to her huſband: which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury againſt his ſon, for denying worſhip to be due to the croſs, aroſe up forthwith, and goes into his ſon's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, conſidering it was for Chriſt's ſake, and ſhed not a tear; his father, ſeeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, ſaying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almoſt dead. I extract this out of the original relation of the perſon himſelf, wrote at Newington, near London, where he afterwards dwelt. Which relation he gave to John Fox.

The Archbiſhop had a hand in Lambert's death.

This year Nicolſon, a very learned man, greatly acquainted with Tindal and Frith, and who, by reaſon of trouble from the biſhops formerly, for the better concealing of himſelf for time to come, called himſelf Lambert, was adjudged to the flames, and cruelly burnt. Wherein our Archbiſhop and the Lord Crumwel unhappily had their hands; the one in reading the ſentence againſt him *De Hæretico comburendo*, by the King's commandment: and the Archbiſhop, firſt in having him before him in a judiciary way, and afterwards in diſputing publicly againſt him in favour of the doctrine of the corporal preſence. The firſt occaſion of Lambert's troubles was this. At the hearing of a ſermon of Dr. Taylor, (he who was afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, and a favourer of the Goſpel,) preached by him at

St. Peter's, Cornhill, he came and preſented him with ten reaſons againſt tranſubſtantiation, written by him. Dr. Taylor, by Dr. Barnes his means, who, though in other things he favoured a reformation, and ſuffered death upon the ſix articles, yet was not againſt ſacramentaries at this time, thinking the broaching that doctrine might throw in ſome impediment to the progreſs of the Goſpel; Dr. Taylor, I ſay, by Barnes his advice, carried theſe reaſons to the Archbiſhop. Who, upon this, conventing Lambert before him, endeavoured to reclaim him, by holding much diſcourſe with him. The news of this came to the court. And by the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the King reſolved to diſpute with him himſelf in a very public and ſolemn manner: and that becauſe he had appealed from the biſhops to the King. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1538.

The biſhops diſpute againſt Lambert's reaſons.

The day being come, and the King preſent, with all his biſhops on the right hand, and his nobles on the left, accompanied with his lawyers and other attendants, on purpoſe to terrify him, and to make an open ſignification, that though he had caſt off the papal ſupremacy, yet he intended not to be a favourer of hereſy ſo called; firſt commanded Richard Sampſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, (Fox ſaith it was Day Biſhop of Chicheſter; but in that he was miſtaken, for he was not yet biſhop,) to begin, and give the reaſon of the meeting. He appointed the biſhops now preſent to anſwer Lambert's ten reaſons, as Fox; or his eight, as the Biſhop 66
of Chicheſter in his declaration mentioned. The Archbiſhop anſwered the ſecond, for the King himſelf had diſputed againſt the firſt. The Archbiſhop, according to his mild temper, but withal according to the falſe opinion which he then moſt confidently maintained, ſtyling him Brother Lambert, deſired the matter might be decided indifferently between them: and that if he convinced Lambert by Scripture, Lambert would be willing to come over from his opinion: but if Lambert, on the other hand, could by Scripture convince him, he promiſed to embrace his opinion. Then he fell upon Lambert's reaſon, which was taken out of the Acts of the Apoſtles, where Chriſt appeared unto Paul by the way: diſputing from that place, that it was not diſagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Chriſt

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

may be in two places at once: which being in heaven, was ſeen the ſame time by St. Paul upon the earth. And, ſaid the Archbiſhop, "If it may be in two places, why, by the like reaſon, may it not be in many places?" In what order and courſe the reſt of the biſhops diſputed, or rather baited this poor man, it is uncertain; only Wincheſter had the ſixth place, Tunſtal of Durham next to him, and next Stokeſly Biſhop of London. Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, who was reputed a man of great learning, had his courſe, to whoſe turn it came to confute Lambert's ſixth reaſon, which was taken from that of St. Paul to the Romans, *Who hath aſcended up to heaven, to bring Chriſt down from thence?* His argument is preſerved in the Cotton library. I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he ſhall meet with it. Whereby may be ſeen after what a haughty and indecent manner this meek confeſſor of Chriſt was dealt with: as though they deſigned rather to run him down, and brow-beat him, than anſwer him.

Rom. x.

Cleopatra E. 5.

No. XXIV.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbiſhop's judgment of the Euchariſt.

Cranmer zealous for the corporal preſence.

BUT to return to Cranmer, whoſe opinion in the point of the ſacrament we will ſtay a little upon. He was now a ſtrong ſtickler for the carnal preſence, and ſeemed greatly prejudiced to that opinion. There was one Joachim Vadianus, a learned man of St. Gal in Helvetia, and an acquaintance of the Archbiſhop's. He had framed a treatiſe, intituled, *Aphoriſms upon the conſideration of the Euchariſt*, in ſix books: which were intended to prove no corporal preſence. This book he preſented to the Archbiſhop: but though he loved him as a learned man, yet he declared himſelf much diſpleaſed with his argument; and wrote to him, "that he wiſhed he had employed his ſtudy to better "purpoſe, and that he had begun his correſpondence with "him in ſome better and more approved ſubject: adding, "that he would be neither patron nor approver of that

" doctrine, until he saw stronger proofs for it." And so much did he dislike Œcolampadius and Zuinglius their opinion in this matter, that he applied that censure of St. Hierom concerning Origen to them; " That *where they* 67 " *wrote well, no body writ better; and where ill, no body* " *worse*. And he wished those learned men had gone no " further than to confute papistical errors and abuses, and " had not sown their tares with their good corn." CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1538.

That which detained our Archbishop in this error was the veneration he had for the ancient doctors of the church, whose writings, as he then thought, approved the doctrine of this gross presence; judging that none could ever reconcile those authors to the contrary opinion. Indeed he judged it the very doctrine of the Fathers from the beginning of the church: and he reckoned that it must be a truth, because otherwise it could not consist with God's goodness to his spouse, to leave her in such blindness so long. It seemed also that he built this his error upon the words of Scripture, taking the sense of *This is my body* literally. His reasons for it.

Vadian by this book had intended to have brought Cranmer off from this opinion. And before him several attempts had been made that way; but he remained so rooted therein, that he seemed to be ever unmoveable. He supposed also, that the giving up this doctrine would prove a great impediment to the work of the Gospel, that now proceeded well in the nation. He advised and beseeched all, both Lutherans and Zuinglians, that the churches of Christ would lay aside their controversies in that matter, and agree and unite in a Christian concord together, that they might propagate one sound pure doctrine, consonant to the discipline of the primitive church: and this would be the way to convert even Turks themselves to the obedience of the Gospel. But I recommend the reader to the Archbishop's own letter to the said Vadianus; wherein he may see how fast and firm he stuck to this doctrine in these days. He will find it in the Appendix.

No. XXV.

Sanders, in his lying book of the English Schism, would make his reader believe that Crannier was of this opinion for another reason, namely, because his master King Henry thought so: and that he had so devoted himself to him, Sanders's slanders of the Archbishop concerning his opinion in the Sacrament.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

that he in all things whatſoever believed, and did, in conformity to him: giving Cranmer therefore the nick-name of Henricianus. But we muſt attribute that ſuggeſtion to the well-known venomous pen of that man, who cared not what he writ, ſo he might but throw his dirt upon the reformation, and the reformers. The ſaid author with the ſame malice would have it, that Cranmer was very variable and inconſtant, having been firſt for a corporeal preſence, afterwards a Lutheran, and then a Calviniſt: and that he thus changed his opinion, as a ſycophant and flatterer, to comply with every man's humour that was uppermoſt. That all the time of King Henry, he remained of that King's opinion, who was a vehement enemy to Luther; but when he was dead, he became wholly Lutheran, and put forth a catechiſm, dedicated to King Edward, and printed it; in which he taught, that every chriſtian that received the ſacrament, either under the bread, or in the bread, or with the bread, certainly received into his mouth the very true body and blood of Chriſt. But that ſcarce a month paſſed, when the wretch (that is his word) underſtood that the Duke of Somerſet, the King's governor, was a Calviniſt,
68 and not a Lutheran; what ſhould he do? He printed his catechiſm again, changed the word; and of an Henrician and a Lutheran, became a Calviniſt.

When Cranmer changed his opinion.

But to give a more true and reſpectful account of our Archbiſhop, as to his continuance in this opinion, and his change of it. Hitherto we have ſeen his opinion for a corporal preſence. In the next year, (*viz.* 1539.) I find one Adam Damplip of Calais, a learned preacher, convented before him, and ſeveral other biſhops, for not holding the real preſence. From which opinion the Archbiſhop, with the reſt, did endeavour to bring him off: though then he marvelled much at the anſwers that Damplip made, and confeſſed openly and plainly, that the Scripture knew no ſuch term as *tranſubſtantiation*. In the year 1541, he had one Barber, a maſter of arts of Oxford, brought before him for denying the ſaid corporal preſence: the Archbiſhop diſputed again earneſtly for that doctrine againſt this man, yet could not but admire at his readineſs in citing his places out of St. Auguſtin, nor could tell how to confute them, as

Mr. Raphe Morice his ſecretary related afterward to John Fox. And this tenet he held to the very laſt year of King Henry, that is, to the year 1546: when, by more mature and calm deliberation, and conſidering the point with leſs prejudice, and the ſenſe of the Fathers more cloſely, in conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and his fellow-martyr, he at laſt quitted and freed himſelf from the fetters of that unſound doctrine; as appears by the epiſtle dedicatory before his book of the Sacrament in Latin, printed by the exiles at Embden. Which epiſtle we may give credit to, being written (as is thought) by Sir John Cheke, who well knew the Archbiſhop, and matters relating to him. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1538. Acts and Mon. p. 1101.

After Archbiſhop Cranmer and Ridley had changed their opinion, Latimer not long after changed his in this point: for, as they all three died martyrs at Oxon, I am willing to join them together here. It was but ſeven years before his burning that he relinquiſhed that old error, that is, about the year 1547, as he confeſſed to Dr. Weſton in his diſputation. There is an argument the ſaid Latimer made uſe of, to prove the deceit of the blood of Hales; which argument ſuppoſes him then of this opinion. It was pretended by the prieſts, that none could ſee this blood, but thoſe that were confeſſed and abſolved by the prieſt, and ſo clean in life; and their ſeeing of it was a ſign they were ſo. But ſaid Latimer in thoſe times, for the expoſing of this fraud; "Thoſe wretches that ſcourged Chriſt, and "nailed him to his croſs, did ſee his blood with their "bodily eyes, and yet were not in clean life. And we ſee "the ſelf-ſame blood in form of wine, when we have con- "ſecrate, and may both ſee it, feel it, and receive it to our "damnation, as touching bodily receiving." We ſhall perhaps ſay more of the Archbiſhop's opinion in the euchariſt, when we come to ſpeak of his book relating to that argument. Latimer of the ſame judgment. Fox, p. 1581.

Divers prieſts now, as well religious as ſecular, had married themſelves, after the example of the Archbiſhop, who kept his wife ſecretly with him. But ſome of theſe married prieſts were ſo indiſcreet, that they lived publicly and openly with their wives, though the eccleſiaſtical laws were in Divers prieſts marry wives.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

force againſt ſuch marriages, nor had they any allowances by the King and realm in parliament; only ſome had diſpenſations (as it is ſaid) from the Archbiſhop. Therefore the King, preſſed by ſome of the papiſts about him, (who began now, after Lambert's death, to liſten to them,) ſet forth a proclamation, November 16, for the ſtopping of ſuch matrimonies. Which ran in this tenor.

The King's proclamation againſt prieſts' marriages.

"That the King's Majeſty underſtanding that a few in "number of this his realm, being prieſts, as well religious "as other, had taken wives, and married themſelves, &c. "His Highneſs in no wiſe minding that the generality of "the clergy of this his realm ſhould, with the example of "ſuch a few number of light perſons, proceed to marriage "without a common conſent of his Highneſs, and his realm; "did therefore ſtraitly charge and command, as well all "and ſingular the ſaid prieſts as have attempted marriages, "that be openly known, as all ſuch as would preſumptuouſly "proceed to the ſame, that they, ne any of them, ſhould "miniſter any ſacrament, or other miniſtry myſtical: ne "have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or com-"modity, heretofore accuſtomed and belonging to the "clergy of this realm; but ſhould be utterly, after ſuch "marriages, expelled and deprived from the ſame; and be had "and reputed as lay-perſons to all intents and purpoſes. "And that ſuch as ſhould after this proclamation, contrary "to his commandment, of their preſumptuous mind, take "wives and be married, ſhould run in his Grace's indigna-"tion, and ſuffer further puniſhment and impriſonment at "his Grace's will and pleaſure. *Dat.* xvi. *Novembris*, "*Anno Regni ſui* xxx."

Wherein we may obſerve what a particular regard the King had for the Archbiſhop in relation to his wife, that the danger of the proclamation might not reach him, by limiting the penalty, not to ſuch as were married and kept their wives ſecretly, but to ſuch as ſhould marry hereafter, and ſuch as kept them openly. And we may obſerve further, that it ſeemed to be in the King's mind in due time to tolerate marriages to prieſts by act of parliament, which that clauſe ſeems to import, that theſe prieſts had married themſelves *without a common conſent of his Highneſs and his*

calm. And Bishop Ponet, or whoever else was the author of the defence of priests' marriage, assures us, that the King intended to permit priests to take wives, knowing how necessary it was to grant that liberty; and he affirms, that it was not unknown to divers that heard him speak oft of that matter: but was hindered by some jealous counsellors, that pretended how ill the people would take it, had it been done by his authority. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1538. Defence of Priests' Marriage, p. 198.

The sect of Anabaptists did now begin to pester this church; and would openly dispute their principles in taverns and public places, and some of them were taken up. Many also of their books were brought in and printed here also: which was the cause that the King now set out a severe proclamation against them and their books. To which he joined the Sacramentaries, as lately with the other come into the land; declaring, "That he abhorred and detested "their errors; and that those that were apprehended he "would make examples. Ordering, that they should be "detected, and brought before the King or his council; 70 "and that all that were not should in eight or ten days "depart the kingdom. This proclamation may be read in "the Appendix, Num. VIII. Where I have misplaced "it." Anabaptists.

A commission also was then given out to the Archbishop, to John Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Bishop of Chichester, and others, against this sect. Which commission was signed at the bottom by Thomas Crumwel. A commission against them. Cran. Regist.

It was observed that the parsons, vicars, and curates did read confusedly the word of God, and the King's injunctions, lately set forth, and commanded by them to be read: humming and hawking thereat, that almost no man could understand the meaning of the injunction. And they secretly suborned certain spreaders of rumours and false tales in corners, who interpreted the injunctions to a false sense. And because there was an order that all christenings, marriages, and burials should be registered from time to time, and the books surely kept in the parish churches, they blew abroad, that the King intended to make new exactions at all christenings, weddings, and burials: adding, that therein the King went about to take away the liberties of the realm, The wardness of the priests. Cleopat. E. 6. p. 222.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

for which, they ſaid, Thomas a Becket died. And they bad their pariſhioners, notwithſtanding what they read, being compelled ſo to do, that they ſhould do as they did in times paſt, to live as their fathers; and that the old faſhion is the beſt: and other crafty and ſeditious parables they gave out among them.

Occaſions the King to write to the juſtices.

This forced the King to write his letters to the juſtices of peace, to take up ſuch ſeditious parſons, vicars, and curates. And in theſe letters is explained the true reaſon of Thomas a Becket's contention with King Henry II. As that he contended, that none of the clergy offending ſhould be called to account, or corrected, but in the biſhops' courts only, and not by the laws of the realm: and that no King ſhould be crowned but by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury only.

He viſits the dioceſe of Hereford.

The church of Hereford being now become vacant by the death of Fox, (an excellent inſtrument of the reformation,) the Archbiſhop committed the cuſtody of the ſpiritualities to Hugh Coren, doctor of canon laws, and prebendary of that church, and by him viſited the church and dioceſe, and gave certain injunctions to the parſons, vicars, and other curates there. Theſe injunctions, as I find them in Cranmer's Regiſter, were eight in number: which I ſhall not here inſert at large, becauſe they may be met with in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. But in ſhort, they enjoined the obſervation of the King's injunctions, given by his Majeſty's commiſſaries in the year 1536. They enjoined, "that they ſhould have, by the firſt of Auguſt, a whole Bible "in Latin and Engliſh; or at leaſt a New Teſtament in the "ſame languages. That they ſhould every day ſtudy one "chapter of the Bible or Teſtament, conferring the Latin "and Engliſh together; and to begin at the beginning of "the book, and ſo continue to the end. That they ſhould "not diſcourage any laymen from reading the Bible, but "encourage them to it. And to read it for the reforma-
71 "tion of their lives, and knowledge of their duty; and not "to be bold and preſumptuous in judging of things before "they have perfect knowledge. That they ſhould, both in "their preachings and confeſſions, and in other their doings, "excite their pariſhioners unto ſuch works as are command-

Cranm. Regiſt.

Par. i. book iii. Collect. 12.

" ed by God expreſsly: adding, that for this God ſhould CHAP. XVIII.
" demand of them a ſtrict reckoning. And to teach them, Anno 1538.
" that other works, which they do of their own devotion,
" are not to be ſo highly eſteemed as the other: and that
" for the not doing them, God will not aſk any account.
" That no friar have any cure or ſervice in their churches,
" unleſs he were diſpenſed withal and licenſed by the
" ordinary. That they admit no young perſon to the
" ſacrament, who never received it before, unleſs ſuch perſon
" openly in the church, after maſs upon a holy-day, ſay the
" Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.
" That they twice a quarter declare the bands of matrimony,
" and the danger of uſing their bodies, but with ſuch perſons
" as they might by the law of God; and that no privy
" contracts be made, as they would avoid the extreme peril
" of the laws of the realm."

No dioceſan biſhop conſecrated this year.

Biſhops' Suffragans.

Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph recommended to the King John Bradley, Abbot of the monaſtery of Milton, of the order of St. Benedict, or William Pelles, both bachelors of divinity, to the dignity of ſuffragan within the dioceſe [province rather] of Canterbury, mentioning no particular ſee. The Biſhop of Bath and Wells alſo recommended two to the King, out of which to nominate a ſuffragan to ſome ſee within the province of Canterbury, *viz.* William Finch, late Prior of Bremar, and Richard Walſhe, Prior of the hoſpital of St. John Baptiſt of Bridgewater. Biſhops conſecrated. Cranm. Regiſt.

April the 7th, William Finch was nominated by the King to the Archbiſhop to be conſecrated for Suffragan of Taunton; and then conſecrated in the chapel of St. Mary's, in the conventual church of the Friars Preachers, London, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and William Suffragan of Colcheſter, aſſiſting. And, William Finch.

March the 23d, John Bradley was conſecrated Suffragan of Shaftſbury, in the chancel of the pariſh-church of St. John Baptiſt in Southampton, by John Biſhop of Bangor, by the letters commiſſional of Thomas Archbiſhop of John Bradley.

BOOK I. Anno 1538. Canterbury, John Ipolitanen. and Thomas Suffragan of Marleborough, aſſiſting.

CHAP. XIX.

The Act of Six Articles.

The Archbiſhop makes Nic. Wotton Commiſſary of his Faculties. Cranm. Regiſt. 72

THIS year, October the 6th, I meet with a commiſſion, *ad facultates*, granted from the Archbiſhop to a famous man, Nicholas Wotton, LL. D. a man of great learning, and made uſe of by the King afterwards in divers embaſſies, and a privy counſellor to King Henry, and his three children ſucceſſively Princes of the realm, and Dean of Canterbury and York. This commiſſion was in purſuance of a late act of parliament, to this tenor; that in whatſoever caſes, not prohibited by divine right, in which the Biſhop of Rome, or Roman ſee, heretofore accuſtomed to diſpenſe, and alſo in all other caſes in which the Biſhop or ſee of Rome accuſtomed not to diſpenſe, if ſo be they were not forbid by divine right; in theſe caſes the Archbiſhop had power granted him to diſpenſe. In this office he conſtituted Wotton his commiſſary or deputy for the term of his natural life. He ſucceeded Edmund Boner, Maſter of the Archbiſhop's Faculties, now preferred to the biſhopric of Hereford. So that Cranmer took notice of the merits of this man, who was ſo much made uſe of afterwards in the church and ſtate; and was of that great eſteem and reputation, that he was thought on, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the year 1528, he was doctor of laws, and the Biſhop of London's official. In the year 1540, he was reſident for the King in the Duke of Cleves court; and had been employed in the match between the King and the Lady Ann of that houſe the year before; and perhaps this might be the firſt time he was ſent abroad in the King's buſineſs.

Ath. Oxon. p. 124.

Anno 1539. In the year 1539, the King took occaſion to be diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop and the other biſhops *of the new learning*,

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1539.

as they then termed them, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in the parliament that the King ſhould have all the monaſteries ſuppreſſed to his own ſole uſe. They were willing he ſhould have all the lands as his anceſtors gave to any of them; but the reſidue they would have had beſtowed upon hoſpitals, grammar-ſchools for bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the commonwealth. The King was hereunto ſtirred by the crafty inſinuations of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other old diſſembling papiſts. And as an effect of this diſpleaſure, as it was thought, in the parliament this year, he made the terrible bloody act of the ſix Articles: whereby none were ſuffered to ſpeak a word againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation upon pain of being burnt to death as an heretic, and to forfeit all his lands and goods, as in caſe of treaſon. And moreover, it was made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, marriage in a prieſt, or in any man or woman that had vowed chaſtity: or to ſay any thing againſt the neceſſity of private maſſes and auricular confeſſion. Which articles were plainly enough deſigned againſt any that ſhould dare to open their mouths againſt theſe Roniſh errors, and eſpecially to impoſe ſilence, and that on pain of death, upon many honeſt preachers that were now riſen up, and uſed to ſpeak freely againſt theſe abuſes; and as a good means to keep the poor people ſtill ſecurely in their old ignorance and ſuperſtition.

The King offended with the Archbiſhop and ſome other Biſhops. Life of Cranm. inter Foxii MSS.

But before this act paſſed, marvellous great ſtruggling there was on both parts, for and againſt it. But the ſide of the favourers of the Goſpel at this time was the weaker, the King now inclining more to the other party, for the reaſon aboveſaid, and for other cauſes: wherein I refer the reader to the conjectures of the Lord Herbert. The biſhops diſputed long in the houſe, ſome for it, and ſome againſt it. The Archbiſhop diſputed earneſtly three days againſt it, uſing divers arguments to diſſuade paſſing the act: which were ſo remarkable for the learning and weight of them, that the King required a copy of them. And though he was reſolved not to alter his purpoſe of having this act made, yet he was not offended with the Archbiſhop's free-

The ſix Articles oppoſed by the Archbiſhop. 73 Life of King Henry, p. 512.

BOOK I. Anno 1539.

dom, as knowing the ſincerity of the man. Even thoſe in the houſe that diſſented from him, were greatly taken with the gravity, eloquence, and learning he then ſhewed, and particularly the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: who told him ſo at his table ſoon after; being ſent by the King to him to comfort him under his dejection for this act, with Crumwel, and many other Lords. The papiſt writers ſay he oppoſed it becauſe himſelf was a married man, and ſo it would touch him cloſe: but it is plain that there were other of theſe ſix Articles which he utterly diſliked; and eſpecially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the act. But hereupon he privately ſent away his wife into Germany among her friends. On this ſide alſo were, beſide the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of Ely, Sarum, Worceſter, Rocheſter, and St. David's: York, Durham, Wincheſter, and Carlile went vigorouſly the other way. Againſt the former the King himſelf argued, with his learning, out of the Scriptures; and would by all means prove theſe Articles thence. The parliament men ſaid little againſt this bill, but ſeemed all unanimous for it: neither did the Lord Chancellor Audley, no, nor the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwel, ſpeak againſt it: the reaſon being, no queſtion, becauſe they ſaw the King ſo reſolved upon it. Nay, it came to be a flying report that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury himſelf, and all the biſhops, except Sarum, conſented. But this is not likely that Cranmer, who had ſo openly and zealouſly oppoſed it, ſhould be ſo ſoon changed, and brought to comply with it. Nay, at the very ſame time it paſſed, he ſtaid and proteſted againſt it, though the King deſired him to go out, ſince he could not conſent to it. Worceſter alſo, as well as Sarum, was committed to priſon: and he, as well as the other, reſigned up his biſhopric upon the act.

The arguments the Archbiſhop made uſe of at this time loſt.

In the foreſaid diſputation in the parliament-houſe, the Archbiſhop behaved himſelf with ſuch humble modeſty, and obedience in word towards his Prince; proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but God's; that neither his enterprize was miſliked of the King, and his allegations and reaſons were ſo ſtrong, that they could not be refuted. Great pity it is, that theſe arguments of the Archbiſhop are loſt; which I ſuppoſe they are irrecoverably, becauſe Fox, that lived ſo

near thoſe times, and ſo elaborate a ſearcher after ſuch papers, could not meet with them; and all that he could do, was to wiſh that they were extant to be ſeen and read. However I will make my conjecture here, that I am apt to think that one of the main matters inſiſted on by him at this time was againſt the cruel penalty annexed to theſe Articles. For I find in one of the Archbiſhop's manuſcript volumes, now in Benet College library, there is in this very year a diſcourſe in Latin upon this ſubject, *Num in hæreticos jure Magiſtratui gravius animadvertere liceat: Deciſio Urbani Rhegii, Interprete Jacobo Giſleno. Anno* 1539. Which book I ſuppoſe he might at this juncture have read over, and made uſe of. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1539. 74

The Dukes and Lords of parliament, that, as above was ſaid, came over to Lambeth to viſit and dine with him, by the King's command, uſed words to him to this tenor; "The King's pleaſure is, that we ſhould in his behalf "cheriſh and comfort you, as one that for your travail in "the late parliament declared yourſelf both greatly learn-"ed, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe: and therefore, my Lord, "be not diſcouraged for any thing that paſſed there contrary "to your allegations." The Archbiſhop replied, "In the firſt "place, my Lords, I heartily thank the King's highneſs for "his ſingular good affection towards me, and you all, for "your pains. And I hope in God, that hereafter my al-"legations and authorities ſhall take place, to the glory of "God, and commodity of the realm." Every of the Lords brought forth his ſentence in commendation of him, to ſhew what good-will both the King and they bare to him. One of them entered into a compariſon between the ſaid Archbiſhop and Cardinal Wolſey, preferring the Archbiſhop before him for his mild and gentle nature; whereas, he ſaid, the Cardinal was a ſtubborn and churliſh prelate, that could never abide any nobleman. The Lord Crumwel, as Cranmer's ſecretary relates, who himſelf heard the words, "You, "my Lord," ſaid he, "were born in an happy hour I ſuppoſe; "for do or ſay what you will, the King will always take it "well at your hands. And I muſt needs confeſs, that in "ſome things I have complained of you to his Majeſty; "but all in vain, for he will never give credit againſt you, The King's meſſage to the Archbiſhop by the Lords. MS. Life of Cranmer, in C.C.C.C.

BOOK I. Anno 1559.

"whatſoever is laid to your charge: but let me, or any "other of the council, be complained of, his Grace will "moſt ſeriouſly chide, and fall out with us: and therefore "you are moſt happy, if you can keep you in this ſtate."

A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in.

The Roman zealots, having obtained this act of the ſix Articles, deſiſted not, but ſeconded their blow by a book of *Ceremonies to be uſed by the Church of England*, ſo intituled; all running after the old popiſh ſtrain. It proceeded all along in favour of the Roman church's ſuperſtitious ceremonies, endeavouring to ſhew the good ſignification of them. The book firſt begins with an Index of the points touched therein; *viz.* "churches and church-yards, the "hallowing and reconciling them. The ceremonies about "the ſacrament of baptiſm. Ordering of the miniſters of "the church in general. Divine ſervice to be ſung and ſaid "in the church. Mattins, prime and other hours. Cere-"monies uſed in the maſs. Sundays, with other feaſts. "Bells. Veſture and tonſure of the miniſters of the church, "and what ſervice they be bound unto. Bearing candles "upon Candlemas-day. Faſting days. The giving of "aſhes. The covering of the croſs and images in Lent. "Bearing of palms. The ſervice of Wedneſday, Thurſday, "and Friday before Eaſter. The hallowing of oil and "chriſm. The waſhing of the altars. The hallowing of "the font upon Saturday in the Eaſter-even. The cere-
75 "monies of the reſurrection in Eaſter-morning. General "and other particular proceſſions. Benedictions of bells or "prieſts. Holy water, and holy bread. A general doctrine "to what intent ceremonies be ordained, and of what value "they be." The book itſelf is too long to be here inſert-

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 259.

ed; but ſuch as have the curioſity, may find it in the Cotton library, and may obſerve what pains was taken to ſmooth and varniſh over the old ſuperſtitions. I do not find this book mentioned by any of our hiſtorians. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, with his own pen, hath an annotation in the margin of one place in the book: and I ſtrongly ſuſpect he was more than the reviſer of it; and that it was drawn up by him and his party, and ſtrongly puſhed on to be

A convocation.

owned as the act of the clergy: for this year there was a convocation. The King had ſent his letters, written March

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1539.

the 12th, in the 30th year of his reign, *viz.* 1538. to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for ſummoning a convocation, to meet together at St. Paul's the ſecond day of May. But this aſſembly, by the King's letters to him, was prorogued till November the 4th. At this convocation, I ſuppoſe, theſe Articles were invented and propounded to the houſe. All this long book, in behalf of the ceremonies, did our laborious metropolitan put himſelf to the pains of anſwering, and thereby hindered the reception of it: for concerning this, I do interpret that paſſage of Fox, *viz.* That the Archbiſhop confuted eighty-eight articles deviſed by a convocation, and which were laboured to be received, but were not. But to return to the ſix Articles.

The papiſts rejoice.

Great triumphing now there was on the papiſts' ſide, as appears by a letter wrote from ſome Roman catholic member of the houſe of Lords to his friend: which may be read in the Appendix. But after ſome time, the King perceiving that the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops did this thing, not of malice or ſtubbornneſs, but out of a zeal they had to God's glory and the commonwealth, reformed in part the ſaid ſix Articles, and ſomewhat blunted the edge of them.

No. XXVI.

Two priories ſurrendered to the Archbiſhop.

March 20, two commiſſions were ſent to the Archbiſhop to take the ſurrender of two houſes of religious perſons; namely, that of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, and that of Rocheſter.

The Archbiſhop and Crumwel labour with the King about the new biſhoprics.

Towards the latter end of this year ſeveral new biſhoprics were founded out of old monaſteries; and ſeveral deaneries and colleges of prebends out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Herein as Crumwel, ſo Cranmer had a great hand: who laboured with the King that in theſe new foundations there ſhould be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and ſtudents trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as a nurſery, the biſhops ſhould ſupply their dioceſes with honeſt and able miniſters: and ſo every biſhop ſhould have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits: for it was our Archbiſhop's regret, that the prebendaries were beſtowed as they were. This complaint Biſhop Burnet tells us he ſaw in a long letter of Cranmer's own hand.

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 401.

BOOK I.

Biſhops Confirmed.

Anno 1539. Biſhops this year. In Archbiſhop Cranmer's regiſter I find theſe biſhops confirmed, their conſecrations being omitted.

John Bell. Auguſt the 11th, John Bell, LL. D. brought up in Baliol College, and Archdeacon of Gloceſter, was confirmed Biſhop of Worceſter, upon the reſignation of Biſhop Latimer, in the chapel of Lambeth. He is ſtyled in the regiſter, the *King's Chaplain and Councellor.*

John Skyp. November the John Skyp, D. D. Archdeacon of Dorſet, and once Chaplain to Queen Ann Bolen, was confirmed Biſhop of Hereford. The King's letter to the Archbiſhop to conſecrate him bears date November 8.

CHAP. XX.

The Archbiſhop in commiſſion.

Anno 1540. The Archbiſhop's enemies accuſe him. THE next year, *viz.* 1540, the Archbiſhop loſt his great friend and aſſiſtant in carrying on the reformation; I mean the Lord Crumwel. And when he was, by popiſh craft and malice, taken off, their next work was to ſacrifice Cranmer. And many were the accuſations that were put up againſt him: and trial was made many ways to bring him to his death, or at leaſt to bring him in diſgrace with the King.

His honeſty and courage in diſcharge of a commiſſion. And firſt, they thought to compaſs their ends againſt him by occaſion of a commiſſion now iſſued out from the King to a ſelect number of biſhops, whereof the Archbiſhop was one, (which commiſſion was confirmed by act of parliament,) for inſpecting into matters of religion, and explaining ſome of the chief doctrines of it. Theſe commiſſioners had drawn up a ſet of articles, favouring the old popiſh ſuperſtitions: and meeting together at Lambeth they produced them, and vehemently urged that they ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that the Archbiſhop would yield to the allowance of them; eſpecially ſeeing there was a ſignification, that it was the King's will and pleaſure that the articles

CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

ſhould run in that tenor. But they could not win the Archbiſhop neither by fear nor flattery; no, though the Lord Crumwel at this very time lay in the Tower. There was not one commiſſioner now on his part, but all ſhrank away, and complied with the time: and even thoſe he moſt truſted to, *viz.* Biſhop Hethe of Rocheſter, and Biſhop Skyp of Hereford. The Archbiſhop, as he diſliked the book already drawn up by them, ſo he preſented another book, wherein were divers amendments of theirs. After much arguing and diſputing, nor could the Archbiſhop be brought off, Hethe and Skyp, with a friend or two more, walked down with him into his garden at Lambeth, and there uſed all the perſuaſion they could; urging to him, that the King was reſolved to have it ſo, and the danger therefore of oppoſing it. But he honeſtly perſiſted in his conſtancy: telling them, "that there was but one truth in the Articles to "be concluded upon, which if they hid from his Majeſty, "by conſenting unto a contrary doctrine, his Highneſs "would in proceſs of time perceive the truth, and ſee how "colourably they had dealt with him. And he knew, he ſaid, "his Grace's nature ſo well, that he would never after cre- "dit and truſt them. And they being both his friends, he 77 "had them beware in time, and diſcharge their conſciences "in maintenance of the truth." But though nothing of all this could ſtir them, yet what he ſaid ſufficiently confirmed the Archbiſhop to perſiſt in his reſolution.

The Archbiſhop, ſtanding thus alone, went himſelf to the King, and ſo wrought with him, that his Majeſty joined with him againſt all the reſt of them; and the book of Articles paſſed on his ſide. When indeed this ſtiffneſs of Canterbury was the very thing his enemies deſired; thinking that for this oppoſition the King would certainly have thrown him into the Tower; and many wagers were laid in London about it. So that this ended in two good iſſues; that the Archbiſhop's enemies were clothed with ſhame and diſappointment, and a very good book, chiefly of the Archbiſhop's compoſing, came forth for the inſtruction of the people, known by the name of *A Neceſſary Erudition of any Chriſtian Man:* a particular account whereof may be read in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. This vexed Wincheſter

And his ſucceſs therein,

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 286.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

to the heart, that his plot took no better effect: but he put it up till he should find other opportunities to attack him, which after happened, as we shall see in the sequel of this story.

Questions of religion to be discussed by divines, by the King's command.

But this matter deserves to be a little more particularly treated of: the King had, as was said before, appointed several of the eminent divines of his realm to deliberate about sundry points of religion then in controversy, and to give in their sentences distinctly. And that in regard of the Germans, who the last year had sent over in writing the judgment of their divines respecting some articles of religion; and had offered his Majesty to appoint some of their divines to meet some others of the King's, in any place he should assign; or to come over into England to confer together. And also in regard of a more exact review of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, put forth about two or three years before, and now intended to be published again, as a more perfect piece of religious instruction for the people. The King therefore, being minded thoroughly to sift divers points of religion, then started and much controverted, commanded a particular number of bishops, and other his learned chaplains and dignitaries, to compare the rites and ceremonies, and tenets of the present Church, by the Scriptures, and by the most ancient writers; and to see how far the Scripture, or good antiquity, did allow of the same. And this I suppose he did by the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer.

The names of the commissioners.

The names of the commissioners were these; Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Lee Archbishop of York, Boner Bishop of London, Tunstal Bishop of Durham, Barlow Bishop of St. David's, Aldrich Bishop of Carlisle, Skyp Bishop of Hereford, Hethe Bishop of Rochester, Thirleby Bishop elect of Westminster; Doctors, Cox, Robinson, Day, Oglethorp, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Tresham, Leyghton, Curwen, Crayford; where we may wonder not to see the name of the Bishop of Winton[c]: but if we consider the reason

Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 274.

[c] Whereas I had said, that the Bishop of Winchester was not in a commission there specified; it appears by Cromwel's speech, set down by the Bishop of Sarum, that that Bishop was then indeed a commissioner. Here my MS. deceived me. But be it noted what the Lord

the King gave why he left him out of the number of his executors, *viz.* becauſe (as he told ſeveral noblemen then about him) that biſhop was a turbulent wilful man; and if he were joined with them, they ſhould have no quiet in their 78 conſultations: the ſame reaſon we may conclude moved the King now, in theſe deliberations about religion, to lay him aſide. Theſe perſons were generally learned and moderate men, and ſuch as we may conjecture the Archbiſhop had the nomination of to the King: however, we may be ſure Wincheſter was not idle at this time. CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

Seventeen queſtions upon the ſacrament.

And firſt the doctrine of the ſacraments was examined, by propounding ſeventeen diſtinct queſtions, drawn up, as I have reaſon to conclude, by the Archbiſhop, on which the divines were to conſult: but each one was to ſet down in writing his ſenſe of every of theſe queſtions ſingly and ſuccinctly. Theſe queſtions are the ſame with thoſe in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. The right reverend Author hath ſet down there the ſeveral anſwers that thoſe biſhops and divines, that he met with in Biſhop Stillingfleet's manuſcript, made to each queſtion; which I ſhall not now repeat after him. But I find in a Cotton book a few pages that deſerve (according to my poor judgment) to be tranſcribed, of ſomething which is not in that hiſtory, being the anſwers of other biſhops and divines in the ſame commiſſion. The firſt is nameleſs; but for ſome reaſons I believe him to be the Biſhop of Durham. Each page conſiſteth of three columns; the middle column contains the queſtions. On one ſide-column is writ his anſwer to each queſtion; on the other ſide-column are the King's notes upon the anſwer, wrote by his own hand. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this. There follow in the Cotton book, ſolutions of each of theſe queſtions by another, omitted by the Biſhop of Sarum in his Hiſtory. He is nameleſs alſo, but appears to have been ſome popiſhly affected biſhop, but yet one that

Part i. Collect. xxi. p. 201.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 36.

Numb. XXVII.

Paget teſtified before the commiſſioners at that Biſhop's trial in 1549; namely, that becauſe he was ſo wilful in his opinion, and addicted to the popiſh part, the King left him out of the commiſſion for compiling the laſt book of religion. And what that book was I know not, unleſs the *Neceſſary Erudition.* [*From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*]

Acts and Mon. firſt edit. p. 815.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

converſed much with the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of St. David's, and Dr. Cox, and was, I ſuppoſe, Thirleby, elect of Weſtminſter: for in many places in the margin of his paper are ſet the names of thoſe men; for what purpoſe I do not know, unleſs to ſignify their judgments as agreeable with his; though in theſe very places ſometimes their minds and his differ. This man's anſwer alſo was peruſed by the King, who ſometimes writ his own objections in the margin. This alſo I have caſt into the Appendix.

Numb. XXVIII.

The Archbiſhop's judgment upon theſe queſtions.

In the concluſion of this famous conſultation upon theſe ſeventeen articles concerning the ſacraments, (their reſolutions being drawn up in writing under their own hands,) the Archbiſhop, having theſe diſcourſes given into his hand for the King's uſe, drew up a ſummary of each man's judgment; which, together with his own, he cauſed to be written fairly out by his ſecretary, and ſo preſented to the King. The Biſhop of Sarum hath ſaved me the trouble of writing them out in this work, having preſented them already to the world in his Hiſtory, from another manuſcript than the Cotton book which I make uſe of, which is a true original. The Archbiſhop's ſummary may be found among the collections in the ſaid Hiſtory, againſt the word *Aggreement* in the margin, and the Archbiſhop's own judgment againſt his name in the margin. At the concluſion of his paper, which he ſent to the King, he ſubſcribed thus, moſt warily and modeſtly, with his own hand;

Vol. i. book 3. Collect. xxi. Cleopatra E. 5.

> "*T. Cantuarien.* This is mine opinion and ſentence at "this preſent; which nevertheleſs I do not temerari- "ouſly define, but refer the judgment thereof unto "your Majeſty."

The judgments of other learned men concerning other points.

Beſides theſe ſeventeen queſtions, there are in this choice Cottonian manuſcript divers others propounded to another combination of biſhops and divines, perhaps about this time, or rather, I conceive, three years before, with their anſwers under their hands thereunto, being called together in order to the compoſing the book called *The Inſtitution*. As, concerning confirmation; Whether this ſacrament be a ſacrament of the New Teſtament, inſtituted by Chriſt, or not? What is the outward ſign, and invifible grace, that is con-

ferred in the ſame? What promiſes be made, that the ſaid graces ſhall be received by this ſacrament? The Biſhop of Sarum hath printed among his Collections the reſolutions of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Biſhop of London to theſe queries; having taken them out of this manuſcript volume which I uſe. But there be here the opinions of many more, both biſhops and other dignitaries of the Church: as namely, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Ely, Rocheſter, Lincoln, Bangor, and Sarum. Then follows the opinion of the Biſhop of London, and next of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Then come the judgments of Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Barber, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Warden of All Souls, Oxon, and one of the convocation in 1562; Dr. Bell, a civilian, employed in the King's buſineſs againſt Queen Katharine, Archdeacon of Gloceſter, and ſoon after Biſhop of Worceſter; Dr. Wolman, Dean of Wells; Dr. Marſhall, Archdeacon of Nottingham; Dr. Cliff, Treaſurer of the church of York; Dr. Edmunds, the ſame, I ſuppoſe, that was Maſter of Peter Houſe, Cambridge; Dr. Downs, Chancellor of the church of York; Dr. Marmaduke, the ſame probably that was called Marmaduke Waldeby; Dr. Robinſon, for Robertſon, I ſuppoſe, Archdeacon of Leiceſter; Dr. Smith, he probably that was Profeſſor of Divinity in Oxon; Dr. Buckmaſter, and another nameleſs. CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

And as theſe learned men treated of this point of confirmation, ſo, by the various heads and diſcourſes I meet with here, they all gave their judgments of divers other chief points of religion; as *De Fide, De Salvatione, De Matrimonio, De Pœnitentia, De Sacramentorum uſu*, and *De auriculari Confeſſione*: where is a letter of the King's own writing, in anſwer to ſomewhat the Biſhop of Durham had writ upon that argument. This royal letter the Biſhop of Sarum hath printed in his Hiſtory. *Of Prieſts' marriage*; whereof the King wrote a ſhort diſcourſe. *Of Pilgrimages; Of Purgatory*; of this there is a diſcourſe wrote by Latimer: and after follows another by the King. Latimer's diſcourſe is animadverted upon by the King's pen in the margin; *De utraque ſpecie*. Three or four large diſcourſes thereupon in favour of receiving in one kind: one whereof was part of the King's Part i. Addenda to the Collect. No. XI.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

anſwer to the German ambaſſadors that were ſent hither about a treaty in the years 1538 and 1539. The ſecond is part of an apology, by an Engliſh divine, to thoſe German 80 proteſtants, for communion in one kind, and for private maſs. And this latter probably is the Biſhop of Durham's, becauſe the correction of the paper (tranſcribed, as it ſeems, by his Secretary) here and there is his own hand.

So that ſome of theſe diſcourſes were, I make no doubt, drawn up by the divines for the King's uſe, in order to his anſwer to the writing which the German agents the laſt year had compoſed, before their voyage home. But theſe papers, ſome Engliſh and ſome Latin, are ſo large, that they would too much ſwell this volume, and entangle the thread of the diſcourſe, if I ſhould here inſert them: and therefore I muſt omit them, and proceed to other matters.

An act to prevent divorces.

In this thirty-ſecond year of the King, by a ſeaſonable law, a ſtop was put to an evil that now mightily prevailed: namely, the frequency of divorces. For it was ordinary to annul marriages, and divide man and wife from each other, who it may be had lived long together, and had children in wedlock: when, upon any diſguſt of man or wife, they would withdraw from one another; and ſo in effect make their children baſtards, upon pretence of ſome pre-contract or affinity: which by the Pope's law required a divorce. The King himſelf took particular care of this act, and there were two rough draughts of it, which I have ſeen in the Cotton library: both which he himſelf reviſed diligently, and corrected with his own pen. Theſe divorces the Archbiſhop highly diſliked; and might probably have laid before the King the great inconveniences, as well as ſcandal, thereof. It troubled him to ſee how common theſe divorces were grown in Germany, and after-marriages, and bigamy. There is a letter of his to Oſiander, the German divine, concerning matrimony: in what year written appeareth not; unleſs perhaps in this year, or the following, now that the King was employing his thoughts about redreſs of this buſineſs. The ſum of the letter is to deſire Oſiander to ſupply him with an anſwer to ſome things that ſeemed to reflect a fault upon thoſe in Germany that profeſſed the Goſpel; and that was, that they allowed ſuch as were divorced to marry

The Archbiſhop to Oſiander, concerning the Germans' abuſe of matrimony.

again, both parties divorced being alive: and that they suffered, without any divorce, a man to have more wives than one. And Osiander had acknowledged as much expressly to Cranmer, in a letter, seeming to complain of it, and added, that Philip Melancthon himself was present at one of these marriages of a second wife, the first being alive. CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

Indeed if any thing were done among those protestants that seemed not just and fair, to be sure Cranmer should presently be twitted in the teeth for it. And then he was fain to make the best answers he could, either out of their books, or out of his own invention. And he was always asked about the affairs in those parts. And sometimes he was forced to confess some things, and be ready to blush at them, (such a concern had he for Germany,) as concerning their allowance of usury, and of concubines to their noblemen: as he wrote to the said German. But I will not longer detain the reader from perusing the excellent learned letter of the Archbishop, which he may find in the Appendix, concerning this subject. No. XXIX.

CHAP. XXI. 81

The largest Bible printed.

THE largest English Bible coming forth in print this year, wherein our Archbishop, out of his zeal to God's glory, had so great an influence, I shall here take occasion to give some account of the translation of, as well as I can; there having been no exact story thereof any where given, as I know of. Some account of printing the English Bible.

The first time the holy Scripture was printed in English, (for written copies thereof, of Wickliff's translation, there were long before, and many,) was about the year 1526. And that was only the New Testament, translated by Tindal, assisted by Joy and Constantine, and printed in some foreign parts, I suppose at Hamburgh or Antwerp. For in this year I find that Cardinal Wolsey and the bishops consulted together for the prohibiting the New Testament of Tindal's New Testament printed in 1526.

BOOK I.

translation to be read. And Tonstal Bishop of London issued out his commission to his archdeacons for calling in the New Testament. This year also Tonstal and Sir Thomas More bought up almost the whole impression, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. I think it was this first edition that Garret, alias Garrerd, Curate of Honylane, afterwards burnt for heresy, dispersed in London and Oxford.

Anno 1540. And burnt. Fox's Acts, p. 929.

Reprinted about 1530.

Soon after Tindal revised his translation of the New Testament, and corrected it, and caused it again to be printed about the year 1530. The books finished were privily sent over to Tindal's brother, John Tindal, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, and another young man; who received them and dispersed them. For which having been taken up by the Bishop of London, they were adjudged in the Star-Chamber, Sir Thomas More being then Lord Chancellor, to ride with their faces to the horse tail, having papers on their heads, and the New Testaments and other books (which they dispersed) to be fastened thick about them, pinned or tacked to their gowns or cloaks, and at the standard in Cheap themselves to throw them into a fire made for that purpose: and then to be fined at the King's pleasure. Which penance they observed. The fine set upon them was heavy enough, *viz.* eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: as was extant to be seen in the records of the Star-Chamber.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Burnt again.

The Scripture prohibited, in a meeting at the Star-Chamber.

Anno 1531, the Bishops came into the Star-Chamber, and communing with the King's counsel, and alledging that this Testament was not truly translated, and that in it were prologues and prefaces of heresy and raillery against bishops; upon this complaint the Testament, and other such like books, were prohibited. But the King gave commandment to the bishops at the same time, that they, calling to them the best learned out of the Universities, should cause a new translation to be made; so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. But the bishops did nothing in obedience to this commandment.

New Testaments burnt the third time. Fox, p. 937.

The same year, *viz.* 1531, in the month of May, Stokesly, Bishop of London, (as Tonstal, his predecessor, had done four or five years before,) caused all the New Testaments of

Tindal, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to Paul's church-yard, and there openly burnt. CHAP. XXI.

In the year 1537, the Bible, containing the Old and New Teſtaments, called Matthews's Bible, of Tindal's and Rogers's tranſlation, was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburgh, to the number of fifteen hundred copies. Which book obtained then ſo much favour of the King, by Crumwel's and Canterbury's means, that the King enjoined it to be had by all curates, and ſet up in all pariſh-churches throughout the realm. It was done by one John Rogers, who flouriſhed a great while in Germany, and was ſuperintendent of a church there; being afterwards a prebend of St. Paul's, and the firſt martyr in Queen Mary's days. He is ſaid by my author to have tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh from Geneſis to the end of the Revelations, making uſe of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and Engliſh [that is, Tyndal's] copies. He added prefaces, and notes out of Luther: and dedicated the whole book to King Henry, under the name of Thomas Matthews, by an epiſtle prefixed; minding to conceal his own name. Grafton, and the reſt of the merchants concerned in the work, thinking that they had not ſtock enough to ſupply all the nation, and this book being of a volume not large enough, and conſidering the prologues and marginal notes gave offence to ſome, and being put on by thoſe that favoured the Goſpel, that as many as poſſible could be might be printed, for the diſperſing the knowledge of Chriſt and his truth; they reſolved to imprint it again, which they intended ſhould be of a larger volume than any before: and therefore it was called, when it came forth, *The Bible in the largeſt volume.* They intended alſo, in order to this edition, to have the former tranſlation reviſed, and to omit ſeveral prologues and annotations. And Miles Coverdale was the man now that compared the tranſlation with the Hebrew, and mended it in divers places, and was the chief overſeer of the work. But though they left out Matthews's, that is, Rogers's notes, yet they reſolved to make hands and marks on the ſides of the book: which meant, that they would have particular notice to be taken of thoſe places, being ſuch texts as did

Anno 1540. The whole Bible printed 1537.

Matthews' that is, Rogers's Bible.

Balæi Centur.

BOOK I.

more especially strike at the errors and abuses of the Romish church.

Anno 1540. About 1538. the Bible printing again in Paris.

Grafton resolved to print this Bible in Paris, if he could obtain leave, there being better paper and cheaper to be had in France, and more dexterous workmen. For this purpose the Lord Crumwel, who stood by him in this enterprise, procured letters of the King, as Fox relates, to Francis the French King, which were conveyed to Boner, then ambassador at that court, for him to present them to that King. The contents of which letters of King Henry were to this effect; "For a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English "in his dominion, both in regard of his paper and work-"men." The King at the same time wrote to his said ambassador to aid and assist the undertakers of this good work in all their reasonable suits. Boner did not only present this letter to Francis, and obtained with good words the licence desired, but he shewed great friendship to the merchants and printers, and so encouraged them, that the work went on
83 with good speed and success. And to shew how well affected he was now to the holy Bible, he caused the English there in Paris to print the New Testament in English and Latin, and took off a great many of them himself, and distributed them to his friends. But the principle that moved Boner in all this was, that he might the better curry favour with Crumwel, and recommend himself to him, who, being the great favourite now with the King, was the fittest instrument for his rise. The letters patents that Boner procured of the French King for the printing this Bible, may be seen in the Appendix: wherein indeed I do not find any specification of King Henry's letters to Francis, but only mention made that he had sufficient testimony that the said Henry had allowed them to print the Bible as well in Latin as English, and, being finished, to bring the impression safely over.

Fox, p. 1086.

No. XXX.

The printers fall into the inquisition.

But notwithstanding this royal licence, such was the overswaying authority of the inquisition in Paris, that the printers were had up into the said inquisition. For in the year 1538, there was an instrument dated December the 17th, coming from Henry Garvais, S. Th. D. Prior of the

convent of the Friars Preachers, Paris, and Vicar-general of the venerable father Friar Matthew Ory, of the same order, and D. D. Inquisitor-general of heretical pravity in the whole kingdom of France, by apostolical and regal authority especially deputed: setting forth, "That since from the "translation of the sacred Scriptures, as well of the Old "Testament as New, into the mother-tongue, which cometh "to the hands of the simple, it is found in these last days "that some have taken occasion of error in the faith; and "that it is provided by edicts of the supreme court of "parliament, that none should print the Old and New Testa- "ment in his mother-tongue, or sell it being printed; and "that it was known to him, that one Francis Regnault, a "bookseller of the city of Paris in those days, did print the "Bible in the vulgar Britannic, or English language; by "reason of which, scandals and errors might arise in the "church: therefore he gave out his order to all priests, "vicars, curates, &c. to cite the said F. Reginault, and all "other that it might concern, to answer, &c. And to in- "hibit them under canonical pains to imprint the said "Bible, nor to make away, or conceal, from him or his "possession, the sheets that are already printed, unless they "were seen by him, and otherwise appointed. Dated at "Paris, under the seal used in such cases, and the sign "manual of the notary public, or sworn scribe of the said "holy inquisition.

Le Tellier."

CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1540.

Cleopatra E. 5.

But before this happened, they were gone through even to the last part of the work. And then great troubles arose: the printer was sent for by the inquisitors, and charged with certain articles of heresy: and the Englishmen likewise that were at the cost and charges hereof, and the corrector Coverdale. Therefore finding it not safe to tarry any longer, they fled away as fast as they could, leaving behind them all their Bibles, the impression consisting of five and twenty hundred in number; which were seized. And if you would know what was done with them, the Lieutenant-criminal caused them to be burnt in Maubert-place, as heretical books. Only a few escaped, the Lieute-

The Bible printed with French presses in London.

84

The English Bible burnt the fourth time.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

nant selling them for waste paper to a haberdasher, being about four dry-fats full. But however, not long after, the English that were concerned in this work, by the encouragement of Crumwel, went back to Paris again, and got the presses, letters, and printing-servants, and brought them over to London: and so became printers themselves, which before they never intended. And so at length in this year 1540, they successfully printed off the Bible of the largest volume: and after that there were sundry other impressions also.

The largest Bible published in the year 1540.

To this impression of the Bible, that came forth in these troublesome times, and through extraordinary opposition, the King gave countenance, commanding the buying and setting it up. For as it had been printed about three years before; and Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, in his injunctions in the King's name, had ordered all incumbents of livings to provide one, and to set it up publicly in their churches: so this year the King, by his proclamation in the month of May, did again command, that this Bible of the largest volume should be provided by the curates and parishioners of every parish, and set up in their churches. For as yet, notwithstanding the first injunctions, many parishes in the realm were destitute of them: whether it were by reason of the unwillingness of the priests to have the English Bible, or the people to be any ways acquainted with it, for fear it should make them heretics, as their curates told them. He stinted also the time, namely, that it should be every where provided before All-Saints day next coming, and that upon a penalty of forty shillings a month, after the said feast, that they should be without it. The said proclamation also set the price at ten shillings a book unbound; and well bound and clasped, not above twelve shillings: and charged all ordinaries to take care for the seeing this command of the King the better executed.

Boner's admonitions for reading the Bible.

And upon this, Boner, being now newly Bishop of London, set up six Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church; together with an admonition to the readers, fastened upon the pillars to which the Bibles were chained, to this tenor; "That whosoever came there to read, should "prepare himself to be edified and made the better thereby.

"That he ſhould join thereunto his readineſs to obey the "King's injunctions made in that behalf. That he bring "with him diſcretion, honeſt intent, charity, reverence, and "quiet behaviour. That there ſhould no ſuch number meet "together there, as to make a multitude. That no ex- "poſition be made thereupon, but what is declared in the "book itſelf. That it be not read with noiſe in time of "divine ſervice: or that any diſputation or contention be "uſed at it."

The Bible ſuppreſſed again, an. 1543.

But it was not much above two years after that the popiſh biſhops obtained of the King the ſuppreſſion of the Bible again. For after they had taken off the Lord Crumwel, they made great complaint to the King (their old complaint) of the tranſlation, and of the prefaces: whereas indeed and in truth it was the text itſelf, rather than the prefaces or tranſlation, that diſturbed them. Whereupon it was forbid again to be ſold, the biſhops promiſing the King to amend and correct it, but never performed it. And Grafton was now, ſo long after, ſummoned and charged with printing Matthews's Bible: which he, being timorous, made excuſes for. Then he was examined about the great Bible, and what the notes were he intended to ſet thereto. He replied, that he added none to his Bible, when he perceived the King and the clergy not willing to have any. Yet Grafton was ſent to the Fleet, and there remained ſix weeks; and, before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he ſhould neither ſell nor imprint any more Bibles till the King and the clergy ſhould agree upon a tranſlation. And they procured an order from the King that the falſe tranſlation of Tindal, as they called it, ſhould not be uttered either by printer or bookſeller; and no other books to be retained that ſpoke againſt the ſacrament of the altar: no annotations or preambles to be in Bibles or New Teſtaments in Engliſh, (that ſo they might keep Scripture ſtill as obſcure as they could:) nor the Bible to be read in the church, and nothing to be taught contrary to the King's inſtructions. And from henceforth the Bible was ſtopped during the remainder of King Henry's reign.

But however, for ſome certain ends, the King reſtrained now and then the uſe of the Scriptures, to comply with the

BOOK I.

importunate suits of the popish bishops; yet his judgment always was for the free use of them among his subjects, and (in order to that) for the translating and printing them. For proof of which, I will recite the words of the translator of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon St. Luke, in his preface thereunto; *viz.* Nic. Udal, a man of eminency in those days, a Canon of Windsor, and a servant unto Queen Katharine, the King's last wife: "His most excellent Majesty, from the "first day that he wore the imperial crown of this realm, "foresaw that, to the executing the premisses, [*viz.* to destroy "counterfeit religions, and to root up all idolatry done to "dead images,] it was necessary that his people should be "reduced to the sincerity of Christ's religion by knowing of "God's word. He considered, that requisite it was his "subjects were nursled in Christ by reading the Scriptures, "whose knowledge should easily induce them to the clear "espying of all the sleights of the Romish juggling. And "therefore, as soon as might be, his Highness, by most "wholesome and godly laws, provided that it might be "lawful for all his most faithful loving subjects to read the "word of God, and the rules of Christ's discipline, which "they professed. He provided that the holy Bible should "be set forth in our own vulgar language, to the end that "England might the better attain to the sincerity of Christ's "doctrine, which they might draw out of the clear fountain "and spring of the Gospel."

Anno 1540. King Henry's judgment for the use of the Bible.

86

CHAP. XXII.

The Archbishop retired.

The Archbishop keeps himself more retired.

OUR Archbishop, after the unhappy death of the Lord Cromwel, so excellent an instrument in correcting the abuses of religion, out of sorrow and care of himself, betook himself to more retirement, and greater privacy. For in and after this year 1540, I find nothing in his register but the acts of confirmations, and elections, and consecrations of bishops, as bishopries fell vacant; the Archbishop very

ſeldom conſecrating any himſelf, but commiſſionating others by his letters to confirm and conſecrate: and nothing to be found a great way on in the regiſter concerning giving ordinances and injunctions to the dioceſe or province. And no wonder, for there was now no Vicegerent in eccleſiaſticals to be ready to hearken to the Archbiſhop's directions and counſels for reforming abuſes, and to ſee them executed in the church. And his own ſorrows, and the troubles he met with in theſe times from his enemies, made him judge it convenient for him now more warily to conceal himſelf till better days.

The Archbiſhop iſſues out his commiſſion for the conſecrating of Boner.

But before the death of Crumwel, when Boner, Biſhop elect of London, was to be conſecrated, the Archbiſhop probably not liking him, and ſeeing through him, whatever his pretences were; and therefore declining to have any hand in his preferment; ſent his commiſſion in April to Stephen Biſhop of Wincheſter, Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and John Biſhop of Hertford, [*i. e.* Hereford] to conſecrate him. Which, it is ſaid in the regiſter, they did accordingly, *per facti chriſmatis unctionem, et manuum ſuarum impoſitionem.* In this conſecration, the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury inſiſted, it ſeems, upon an ancient privilege of their church, which I do not find in this regiſter they had at other conſecrations done; namely, that the conſecration ſhould be celebrated at the church of Canterbury, and at no other church or oratory, without their allowance. And ſo, in a formal inſtrument, they gave their licence and conſent, directed to the Archbiſhop, to proceed to the conſecration elſewhere. The letter is from Thomas the Prior, and the chapter of Canterbury; and it ran thus. Cranm. Regiſt.

Licet antiquitus fuerit ſalubriter ordinatum, hactenuſque in et per totam veſtram Provinciam Cantuar' inconcuſſe obſervatum, quod quilibet Suffraganeus Eccleſiæ veſtræ Metropoliticæ Chriſti Cantuar' memoratæ in Eccleſia veſtra Metropolit' Cantuar' et non alibi, pntialiter conſecrari et benedici debeat, &c. "Yet they gave their conſent that he might "be conſecrated in any other oratory: but yet ſo that "neither they, nor the church, received any prejudice, and "reſerving to themſelves a decent cope, as every ſuffragan

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

" of the church of Canterbury, according as his profeſſion " was, ought to give to the ſame church by right and " ancient cuſtom; and the rights, liberties, privileges, and " other cuſtoms of the ſaid church always, and in all things, " being ſafe." The renewing of this their old pretended privilege looked like ſome check to the Archbiſhop, and as
87 though they required of him a ſort of dependence on them now more than before; and it ſhewed ſome ſecret ill-will towards him, which brake out more openly not long after, as we ſhall ſhew in the proceſs of our ſtory.

Boner's oath of fidelity.

In the regiſter is alſo recorded Boner's oath of fidelity to the King againſt the Biſhop of Rome: which I will add here, that men may ſee with what little affection to the Pope this man was let into the biſhopric, which he afterwards made ſo much uſe of for him and his uſurpations; though thereby he ſtands upon record for ever for perjury. But the oath was this:

" Ye ſhall never conſent nor agree that the Biſhop of " Rome ſhall practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of " authority, juriſdiction, or power, within this realm, or " any other the King's dominions, but that ye ſhall reſiſt " the ſame at all times to the uttermoſt of your power: " and that from henceforth ye ſhall accept, repute, and " take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme head in " earth of the Church of England, &c. So help you God, " and all ſaints, and the holy evangeliſts."

Signed thus,

+ *In fidem præmiſſorum Ego* Edm. Boner *Elect. et Confirmat.* Londonienſ. *huic præſenti chartæ ſubſcripſi.*

The Archbiſhop makes a commiſſary in Calais.

By the Archbiſhop's letters, bearing date May 20, he made Robert Harvey, B. LL. his commiſſary in Calais, and in all the other neighbouring places in France, being his dioceſe. A man ſurely wherein the good Archbiſhop was miſtaken, or elſe he would never have ventured to ſet ſuch a ſubſtitute, of ſuch bigoted cruel principles, in that place.

Fox, p. 1120.

This Harvey condemned a poor labouring man of Calais, who ſaid he would never believe that any prieſt could make the Lord's body at his pleaſure. Whereupon he was

accuſed before the commiſſary, who roundly condemned him to be burnt, inveighing againſt him, and ſaying, he was an heretic, and ſhould die a vile death. The poor man ſaid, he ſhould die a viler ſhortly. And ſo it came to paſs; for half a year after, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treaſon. CHAP. XXII. Anno 1540.

He ſeemed to have ſucceeded in the room of a man of better principles, called Sir John Butler: who was deprived of his commiſſaryſhip by ſome biſhops, commiſſioners from the King for the examining ſeveral perſons ſuſpect of religion in Calais. The council there had, about the year 1539, complained of him as a maintainer of Damplip, a learned and pious preacher there. So he was ſent for into England, and charged to favour Damplip, becauſe he preached ſo long there, and was not reſtrained nor puniſhed by him. He anſwered warily and prudently, that the Lord Liſle, Lord Deputy, and his council, entertained and friendly uſed him, and countenanced him by hearing him preach; ſo that he could not do otherwiſe than he did. After long attendance upon the King's commiſſioners, he was diſcharged, and returned home, but diſcharged alſo of his commiſſary's place too. Butler a better commiſſary.

88

And having been an officer of the Archbiſhop's, I will add a word or two more concerning him. About the year 1536, he was apprehended in Calais, and bound by ſureties not to paſs the gates of that town, upon the accuſation of two ſoldiers, that he ſhould have ſaid, in contempt of the corporal preſence, that "if the ſacrament of the altar be "fleſh, blood, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at "John Spicer's:" where probably was very bad. This Butler, and one Smith, were ſoon after brought by purſuivants into England; and there brought before the privy-council in the Star-Chamber for ſedition and hereſy, (which were charges ordinarily laid againſt the profeſſors of the Goſpel in thoſe times,) and thence ſent to the Fleet: and brought ſoon after to Bath-place, there ſitting Clark Biſhop of Bath, Sampſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Reps Biſhop of Norwich, the King's commiſſioners. His troubles.

And no wonder he met with theſe troubles: for he had raiſed up the hatred of the friars of Calais againſt him by

BOOK I.

being a diſcoverer and deſtroyer of one of their groſs religious cheats. There had been great talk of a miracle in St. Nicholas church, for the conviction of men, that the wafer, after conſecration, was indeed turned into the body, fleſh, and bones of Chriſt. For in a tomb in that church, repreſenting the ſepulchre, there were lying upon a marble ſtone three hoſts ſprinkled with blood, and a bone repreſenting ſome miracle. This miracle was in writing, with a Pope's bull of pardon annexed, to thoſe, I ſuppoſe, that ſhould viſit that church. There was alſo a picture of the reſurrection, bearing ſome relation to this miracle. This picture and ſtory Damplip freely ſpake againſt in one of his ſermons, ſaying, that "it was but an illuſion of the French before "Calais was Engliſh." Upon this ſermon, (the King alſo having ordered the taking away all ſuperſtitious ſhrines,) there came a commiſſion to the Lord Deputy of Calais, to this Sir John Butler, the Archbiſhop's commiſſary, and one or two more, that they ſhould ſearch whether this were true; and if they found it not ſo, that immediately the ſhrine ſhould be plucked down; and ſo it was. For breaking up a ſtone in the corner of the tomb, inſtead of the three hoſts, the blood and the bone, they found ſoldered in the croſs of marble lying under the ſepulchre, three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hoſts, and a bone, that is in the tip of a ſheep's tail. This Damplip ſhewed the next day, being Sunday, unto the people; and after that, they were ſent to the King by the Lord Deputy. But this ſo angered the friars and their creatures, that it coſt Damplip his life, and Commiſſary Butler much trouble, and the loſs of his office.

Anno 1540. The occaſion thereof the diſcovery of a religious cheat.

Glazier commiſſary in Calais.

After Harvey, Hugh Glazier, B. D. and Canon of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, ſucceeded in the office of commiſſary to the Archbiſhop for Calais. He was once a friar, but afterwards favoured the reformation. He was put up to preach at Paul's Croſs the firſt Lent after King Edward came to the crown: and then aſſerted the obſervation of Lent to be but of human inſtitution.

This year the cathedral church of Canterbury was altered from monks to ſecular men of the clergy, *viz.* prebendaries, or canons, petty-canons, choriſters, and ſcholars. At this

erection were present Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop; the Lord Rich, Chancellor of the court of the augmentation of the revenues of the crown; Sir Christopher Hales, Knight, the King's attorney; Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight; with divers other commissioners. And nominating and electing such convenient and fit persons, as should serve for the furniture of the said cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to pass, that when they should elect the children of the grammar-school, there were of the commissioners more than one or two, who would have none admitted but sons, or younger brethren, of gentlemen. As for other husbandmen's children, they were more meet, they said, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned sort. So that they wished none else to be put to school, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the most reverend father the Archbishop, being of a contrary mind, said, "That he thought it not indifferent "so to order the matter: for," said he, "poor men's chil- "dren are many times endued with more singular gifts of "nature, which are also the gifts of God, as with eloquence, "memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and "also commonly more apt to apply their study, than is the "gentleman's son delicately educated." Hereunto it was on the other part replied, "That it was meet for the plough- "man's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply "the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentleman's "children are meet to have the knowledge of government "and rule in the commonwealth. For we have," said they, "as much need of ploughmen as any other state: and "all sorts of men may not go to school." "I grant," replied the Archbishop, "much of your meaning herein as "needful in a commonwealth: but yet utterly to exclude "the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the be- "nefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have "the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them, as well "as upon others, is as much to say, as that Almighty "God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of "grace upon any person, nor no where else, but as we and "other men shall appoint them to be employed, according "to our fancy, and not according to his most godly will

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1540.

89 Archbishop's judgment of admission of scholars into the school belonging to the cathedral.

Foxii MSS.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

"and pleasure: who giveth his gifts both of learning, and "other perfections in all sciences, unto all kinds and states "of people indifferently. Even so doth he many times "withdraw from them and their posterity again those bene- "ficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we should shut up "into a strait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghost, "and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we should "make as perfect a work thereof as those that took upon "them to build the tower of Babel: for God would so "provide, that the offspring of our best-born children should "peradventure become most unapt to learn, and very dolts, "as I myself have seen no small number of them very dull, "and without all manner of capacity. And to say the truth, "I take it, that none of us all here being gentlemen born "(as I think) but had our beginning that way, from a low "and base parentage: and through the benefit of learning, "and other civil knowledge, for the most part all gentlemen "ascend to their estate." Then it was again answered,
90 "That the most part of the nobility came up by feats of "arms, and martial acts." "As though," said the Arch- bishop, "that the noble captain was always unfurnished of "good learning and knowledge to persuade and dissuade his "army rhetorically: who rather that way is brought unto "authority, than else his manly looks. To conclude, the "poor man's son, by pains-taking, will for the most part be "learned, when the gentleman's son will not take the pains "to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Al- "mighty God raiseth up from the dunghill, and setteth him "in high authority. And whensoever it pleaseth him of his "divine providence, he deposeth Princes unto a right hum- "ble and poor estate. Wherefore if the gentleman's son be "apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the "poor man's child that is apt enter his room." With words to the like effect. Such a seasonable patron of poor men was the Archbishop.

Bishops consecrated.

Edmond Boner. Nicholas Hethe.

April the 4th, Edmond Boner, LL. D. Bishop of Here- ford, consecrated Bishop of London, and Nicolas Hethe, consecrated Bishop of Rochester, in a chapel in St. Paul's, on

the north fide of the nave, by Stephen Biſhop of Winton, CHAP. XXII.
affiſted by Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and John Biſhop of Hereford; by virtue of commiſſional letters from the Archbiſhop. Anno 1540. Cranm. Regiſt.

December the 29th, Thomas Thirlby, conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Weſtminſter in St. Saviour's chapel, near the ſepulchre of Henry VIII. in the church of Weſtminſter, by the Biſhop of London; aſſiſted by Nicholas Biſhop of Rocheſter, and John Suffragan of Bedford, by letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop. Thomas Thirlby.

Dr. Butts, the King's phyſician, firſt moved him to take Dr. Thirlby into his ſervice; for that the ſaid Thirlby was accounted a favourer of all ſuch as favoured ſincere religion. The Archbiſhop ſoon became acquainted with him, and liked his learning and his qualities ſo well, that he became his good lord towards the King's Majeſty, and commended him to him, to be a man worthy to ſerve a prince, for ſuch ſingular qualities as were in him. And indeed the King ſoon employed him in embaſſies in France and elſewhere: ſo that he grew in the King's favour by the means of the Archbiſhop; who had a very extraordinary love for him, and thought nothing too much to give him, or to do for him. And we may conclude it was by his means that, after the diſſolution of the biſhopric of Weſtminſter, he was preferred to Norwich, in the year 1550. He complied with King Edward's proceedings all his reign; and ſo he did with Queen Mary's during hers, being then tranſlated to Ely: and was then made uſe of to be one of the biſhops (Boner being the other) that were ſent to Oxon to degrade the Archbiſhop, which he did with tears. If this Biſhop "did not, to his uttermoſt endeavour, practiſe to ſave the "Archbiſhop's life, he not only did him much wrong, but "alſo abuſed his ſingular benevolence with over-much in-"gratitude." I uſe the words of Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, as though he ſuſpected he did not. Some account of Thirlby's riſe. In a letter to Day the printer, an. 1565.

BOOK I.
Anno 1541.
91

CHAP. XXIII.

All-Souls College viſited.

The Archbiſhop viſits All-Souls College.

THE following year, the college of All-Souls, Oxon, underwent the Archbiſhop's viſitation, by virtue of a commiſſion, May 12, to John Cocks, the Archbiſhop's Vicar-general in ſpirituals, John Rokeſby, LL. D. of the Arches, Walter Wright, LL. D. Public Notary, and John Warner, M. D. Warden of the college. This viſitation was occaſioned upon a complaint of the very ill and looſe behaviour of the members of that houſe. The college grew ſcandalous for their factions, diſſenſions, and combinations one againſt another; for their compotations, ingurgitations, ſurfeitings, drunkenneſſes, enormous and exceſſive comeſſations. They kept boys in the college, under pretence of poor ſcholars. They entered not into orders, and became not prieſts after they were maſters of art: nor obſerved their times of diſputations. Their habit and apparel was gaudy. And other things there were among them contrary to the ſtatutes of the college. This viſitation was prorogued, and all the viſitors were reduced to one, *viz.* Dr. Wright. And in concluſion, the Archbiſhop gave them a ſet of injunctions, declarations, and interpretations of their ſtatutes, to the number of four and twenty. One was for the better frequenting chapel, and ſinging the ſervice. Another for the reſidence of the Warden, not to be abſent above ſixty days in a year. The reſt were, to obſerve, at the Dean's command, the ſolemn times of diſputation. That ſuch bachelors of arts that were fellows, ſhould take their degrees of maſters of arts, when they were ſtanding for it. That ſeveral of them, being maſters of arts, ſhould take prieſts' orders. That the Maſter and the reſt, fellows and ſcholars, ſhould wear long gowns to their heels, plain ſhirts, and not gathered about the neck and arms, and adorned with ſilk; and the reſt ſhould wear decent garments. Concerning keeping boys, beſide ſuch as were ſervants; that if any of the fellows, ſcholars, or ſervants of the college, ſhall keep any poor ſcho-

Abp. Cranm. Regiſt.

lars, boy, or youth, to lodge with him in his chamber, or within the college, to nourish him with the fragments of the college, after such a day, that he be then admonished by the Warden, or Sub-warden, &c. and such boys to be expelled the college. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1541.

But it seems this visitation did not effect the good ends intended by it: for not long after another commission for the visitation of this college was given by the Archbishop to John Barbar, LL. D. Official of his court of Canterbury. Visits it a second time.

In the month of October, there issued out the King's letters to our Archbishop for taking away superstitious shrines. Which I suppose the Archbishop himself procured, having complained to the King how little effect former orders from his Majesty had taken, (and particularly in his own Church,) for the images and bones of supposed saints, with all the monuments of their pretended miracles, to be taken away and defaced: and how his injunctions were illuded, which 92 commanded, that there should be no offerings nor setting up candles to them in any church, and specially in the cathedral church of Canterbury; which once before had been scoured of these superstitions, when Thomas a Becket's tomb, and the riches thereof, were taken away. The King in this letter commanded him to cause due search to be made in his cathedral church for shrines, and coverings of shrines, &c. and to take them away, that there remain no memory thereof; and to command all the curates and incumbents of livings to do the like. The Archbishop gives order about shrines.

The King's letters were as follow.

"*By the KING.*

"MOST reverend father in God, right trusty, and right "intirely well-beloved, we greet you well: Letting you wit, "that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance "which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty "God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used "and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word; we did not only cause the "images and bones of such as they resorted and offered "unto, with the ornaments of the same; and all such writ- The King to the Archbishop for searching after shrines. Abp Cranm. Regist.

BOOK I. Anno 1541.

" ings and monuments of fained miracles, wherewith they " were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; " but alſo by our injunctions commanded, that no offering, " or ſetting of lights or candles, ſhould be ſuffered in any " church, but only to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar: " it is lately come to our knowledge, that, this our good in- " tent and purpoſe notwithſtanding, the ſhrines, coverings " of ſhrines, and monuments of thoſe things, do yet remain " in ſundry places of our realm, much to the ſlander of our " doings, and to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the " fame being means to allure our ſubjects to their former " hypocriſies and ſuperſtition; and alſo that our injunctions " be not kept, as appertaineth. Fro [for] the due and ſpeedy " reformation whereof, we have thought meet by theſe our " letters expreſsly to will and command you, that, incontin- " nently upon the receipt hereof, you ſhall not only cauſe " due ſearch to be made in your cathedral church for thoſe " things; and if any ſhrine, covering of ſhrine, table, monu- " ment of miracles, or other pilgrimage, do there continue, " to cauſe it to be taken away, ſo as there remain no me- " mory of it: but alſo that you ſhall take order with all the " curates, and others, having charge within your dioceſe, " to do the ſemblable. And to ſee that our injunctions be " duly kept, as appertaineth, without failing, as we truſt " you, and as you woll anſwer to the contrary. Yeven " [under] our ſignet, at our town of Hull, the iiii day of " October, in the xxxiiii year of our reign."

This was dated from Hull, for the King was now in his progreſs towards Scotland, to meet the Scots King according to appointment; though he met him not.

93 The Archbiſhop's orders accordingly to his Dean, his Archdeacon, and Commiſſary.

Whereupon the Archbiſhop, by his letter dated from Lambeth, Oct. 15. to Richard Lyel, LL. D. Dean of the deaneries of Shoreham, Croyden, Bocking, Riſburgh, Terring, and Pageham, enjoined him to take care to execute the King's will: to cite before him, with all ſpeed, all and ſingular the miniſters of the collegiate churches; and rectors, vicars, and prieſts of the pariſh-churches within the deaneries aforeſaid; and then to declare to them the contents of the King's letters, and to command them to obſerve exactly the

King's injunctions. The like letters he alſo ſent to Edmond Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury. An anſwer to which the ſaid Edmond wrote to the Archbiſhop, dated Oct. 29. ſignifying his doing according to the Archbiſhop's commandment. The like were written to Hugh Glazier, the Archbiſhop's Commiſſary-general in the town of Calais, and the marches of the ſame. Who ſent his anſwer to the Archbiſhop, Nov. 24. from the town of Calais. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1541.

I am apt to think that theſe letters of the King were circulary, and ſent with the ſame command to all the biſhops to ſee executed in their ſeveral dioceſes; though the effect of them was, according as the biſhops themſelves ſtood affected.

This year an exchange was made by the Archbiſhop of the manor of Biſhopſburn for Bekeſburn, with Sir John Gage, Comptroller of the King's houſehold. Bekeſburn, anciently called Livingſburn, was healthfully and conveniently ſeated, lying an eaſy diſtance from Canterbury, whenſoever the Archbiſhops were minded to be retired. This place Archbiſhop Parker took a great delight in, and intended greatly to enlarge by buildings; but died before he began his purpoſe. Archbiſhop Cranmer made conſiderable buildings here, and probably would have done more, had he continued in his prelacy. In the year 1552, he finiſhed the gate-houſe now ſtanding; as appears from the north and ſouth ſides thereof, wherein are two ſtones ſet in the brick-work, with the letters of his name, T. C. and coat of arms, and motto, *Noſce Teipſum, et Deum*; together with the date, 1552. This manor now returned to the Church again, from whence it had been for ſome time ſevered; only the owners changed. For whereas, before the diſſolution of the monaſteries, it belonged to the Priors of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury; now it came to the Archbiſhops. This manor was not given to Chriſt Church till after the year 1400. Thomas Goldſtone, a prior of that church, and a great builder, built the manor-houſe for a manſion for the priors, and a chapel annexed, and a new hall adjoining to the dormitory, and divers other edifices there; as we learn from the Hiſtory of the Priors of Canterbury lately publiſhed. To which we may add a record in that church, to The Archbiſhop lays Bekeſburn to the ſee. Anzl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 148.

BOOK I. Anno 1541.

direct us in the computation of the time: *viz.* Anno Dom. 1508. *In vigiliis S. Marci Capella dedicatur in Manerio de Lyryngſtorn, procurante Thoma Goldſton.* At the diſſolution this was alienated and given to Gage; and from him it came to Archbiſhop Cranmer and his ſucceſſors. And the bargain was confirmed by act of parliament, Anno Henr. 34.

Records of Chr. Ch. Cant.

Learned preachers preferred by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop, as he had opportunity, preferred learned and pious men in his dioceſe in the beneſices of his church; and ſuch who freely preached againſt the Pope and his ſuperſtitions, againſt images, and the worſhip of them. The chief of theſe were Nic. Ridley, (afterwards Biſhop of Lon-
94 don,) whom he made Vicar of Herne, and Prebend of Canterbury; and John Scory, (afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter,) whom he made one of the ſix preachers; Michael Drum, and Lancelot Ridley, worthy men, were two more of the ſix. Theſe he preferred, and divers others about through his dioceſe, that ſet the abuſes of popery open before the people's eyes in their ſermons. This ſo angered the men of the old religion, and particularly ſome of his own church in Canterbury, that they detected them to the Archbiſhop, by articling againſt them for their doctrine. This they did this year, when the Archbiſhop viſited his church. And about two years after they did ſo again, as ſhall be taken notice of in due ſeaſon.

The Archbiſhop makes ſome recant.

About this time it was that Serles and Shether, two of the ſix preachers of Canterbury, were by the Archbiſhop's cenſure put to recantation for ſome unſound paſſages they had preached. Which made them ſuch enemies to the Archbiſhop, and ſuch contrivers of his ruin, by deviſing and drawing up a great number of articles againſt him, if they could have accompliſhed their deſign, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter under the year 1543. It was obſerved of Shether at this time, that after the pronouncing his recantation, or declaration, he added theſe words; "Good Chriſtians, I take "God to record, that I never preached any thing to you "in my life but the truth." And ſo in ſhort gave himſelf the lie, and overthrew all the recantation he had made before.

A convocation.

The latter end of the year there was a convocation:

wherein one of the matters before them was concerning the procuring a true tranſlation of the New Teſtament; which was indeed intended, not ſo much to do ſuch a good work, as to hinder it. For having decried the preſent tranſlation, on purpoſe to make it unlawful for any to uſe it, they pretended to ſet themſelves about a new one. But it was merely to delay and put off the people from the common uſe of the Scripture: as appeared plainly enough, in that the biſhops themſelves undertook it. And ſo having it in their own hands, they might make what delays they pleaſed. For in the third ſeſſion, a propoſition was made for the tranſlation, and an aſſignation to each biſhop of his taſk: as Matthew to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Mark to the Biſhop of Lincoln, Luke to Winton, John to Ely: and ſo of the reſt. But the Archbiſhop ſaw through all this: and therefore, in a ſeſſions that followed after, told the houſe from the King, to whom I ſuppoſe he had diſcovered this intrigue, that the tranſlation ſhould be left to the learned of both univerſities. This was a ſurpriſe to the biſhops, who all, except Ely and St. David's, proteſted againſt it, and began to undervalue the ſufficiency of the univerſities, as much decayed of late; and that they were but young men: and that the greateſt learning lay in the convocation-men. But the Archbiſhop roundly ſaid, that *he would ſtick by his maſter's will and pleaſure; and that the univerſities ſhould examine the tranſlation.*

CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1541.

Their buſineſs Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. from the records of Canterbury.

Biſhops conſecrated. 95

May 29, being Sunday, William Knight was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells by Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of the Archbiſhop's letters to him, aſſiſted by Richard Suffragan of Dover, and John Suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the ſaid Biſhop of Bath's houſe, ſituate in the Minories without Aldgate.

William Knight.

September the 25th, John Wakeman, late Abbot of Teukſbury, was conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Gloceſter by the Archbiſhop, Edmond Biſhop of London, and Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, aſſiſting.

John Wakeman

John Chambre, B. D. was conſecrated firſt Biſhop of Peterborough, October 23, in the cathedral church of Peter-

John Chambre.

BOOK I. burgh, in the preſbytery there, by John Biſhop of Lincoln, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, and William Biſhop of Norwich, by commiſſion from the Archbiſhop.

Anno 1541.

Arthur Bulkeley.

February the 19th, Arthur Bulkeley was conſecrated in the chapel of John Incent, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, by John Biſhop of Sarum, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop, William Biſhop of St. David's, and John Biſhop of Gloceſter, aſſiſting.

Robert King.

Robert King, another abbot, and titular Biſhop Reonen, ſuffragan to the Biſhop of Lincoln, was this year conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford. The date, or his conſecrators, I cannot aſſign, the act being omitted in the Archbiſhop's regiſter. He was firſt a monk of Rewly, a priory without Oxford, of the Ciſtertian order; then Abbot of Bruerne in Oxfordſhire; after, Abbot of Thame, of which he was alſo called Biſhop; and laſtly of Oſeney: both which he ſurrendered to the King at the diſſolution of monaſteries. This man, when ſuffragan, preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he moſt fiercely inveighed againſt ſuch as uſed the New Teſtament. In Queen Mary's reign he was a perſecutor of the proteſtants, and died, 1557.

CHAP. XXIV.

The ing's Book reviſed.

Anno 1542. The King's book reviſed by the Archbiſhop.

THE Archbiſhop was this year, among other things, employed in the King's book, as it now was called, that is, *The Erudition of any Chriſtian Man*, ſpoken of before. For the King was minded now to have it well reviewed, and if there were any errors, and leſs proper expreſſions, to have them corrected and amended: and ſo to have it recommended unto the people as a complete book of chriſtian principles, in the ſtead of the Scripture; which, upon pretence of their abuſe of, the King would not allow longer to be read. Accordingly a correction was made throughout the book; and the correct copy ſent to Cranmer to peruſe: which he did, and added his own annotations upon various

paſſages in it at good length. And had it not been too long, I had tranſcribed it wholly out of a volume in the Benet College library. But for a taſte take this that follows. In the title, under his own hand, was this written,

Animadverſions upon the King's book. 96

Upon the Chapter of Original Sin.

For the firſt offence of our father Adam.] No man ſhall be damned for the offences of Adam, but for his own proper offences, either actual, or original. Which original ſin every man hath of his own, and is born in it, although it came from Adam. Miſcellanea D. inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

The principal means (*viz.* God's favour) *whereby all ſinners attain their juſtification.*] This ſentence importeth, that the favour and love of the Father of heaven towards us is the means whereby we come to his favour and love. And ſo ſhould one thing be the means to itſelf. And it is not the uſe of Scripture to call any other the means and mediator for us, but only Jeſus Chriſt, by whom our acceſs is to the Father.

Having aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy, willing to enter into his perfect faith.] He that hath aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy, hath already entered into a perfect faith, and not only hath a will to enter into it: for perfect faith is nothing elſe but aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy.

Upon the Explication of the Tenth Commandment.

Without due recompenſe.] This addition agrees not well with the coveting of another man's wife, wherein is no recompenſation. And in the other things, although recompenſation be made, yet the commandment nevertheleſs is tranſgreſſed and broken.

Upon another Chapter concerning Obedience to the Civil Power.

By his ordinate power.] This word *ordinate power* obſcureth the ſentence in the underſtanding of them that be ſimple and unlearned: and among the learned it gendereth contention and diſputation, rather than it any thing edifieth. Therefore methinketh it better, and more plain as it is in

BOOK I. Anno 1542.

the print; or elſe to ſay, *by his ordinance:* for the Scripture ſpeaketh ſimply and plainly, *poteſtati ejus quis reſiſtit?*

By theſe few paſſages, which I have carefully taken out of the Archbiſhop's own book, may be ſeen of what a critical and exact judgment he was.

Divers diſcourſes of the Archbiſhop.

But beſides theſe *adverſaria* in theſe papers of the Archbiſhop's annotations, there be divers large diſcourſes of his, upon ſeveral heads of religion, drawn up, as I conceive, upon the King's command, to be inſerted into his book above mentioned. I have extracted ſome of theſe diſcourſes; as upon faith, juſtification, and forgiveneſs of injuries: wherein may be ſeen his ſound opinion in thoſe great doctrines of Chriſtian religion. I took alſo out of the ſame volume ſome ſpecimen of three other diſcourſes of his: one with this title, writ by his own hand, *De Conſolatione Chriſtianorum contra metum mortis. Ex Doctoribus Eccleſiaſticis.* Compiled, I gueſs, as well for his own uſe, being not inapprehenſive of his tickliſh ſtation and danger, from ſo many and implacable enemies which he had, as to be inſerted in the aforeſaid book. The others were two exhortations, to take the pains of ſickneſs well, and adverſity patiently: the one taken out of Cyprian, the other out of St. Auguſtin, lib. *De viſitatione infirmorum.* The ſpecimen of them are in the Appendix; as alſo the diſcourſes of faith, juſtification, and forgiveneſs of injuries.

97

No. XXXI. XXXII.

The goodly Primer.

This year Boner Biſhop of London ſet forth injunctions for the clergy of his dioceſe, containing directions for their preaching and converſation; together with a catalogue of certain books prohibited: which the curates were to inquire after in their reſpective pariſhes, and to inform their ordinaries of them, and of thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſions they found them. Among theſe books were the Engliſh Teſtament of Tindal, and divers other pieces of the ſaid godly and learned man; ſome prefaces and marginal gloſſes of Thomas Matthews in his Engliſh Bible. A book of Friar Barnes. The Supplication of Beggars. The Practice of Prelates. The Revelation of Antichriſt. The Church of John Raſtal. The Diſputation between the Father and the Son. The preface made in the Engliſh primers by Marſhal. This

CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1542.

Marſhal was he, I ſuppoſe, whoſe chriſtian name was Cuthbert, and was D. D. and Archdeacon of Nottingham, and died about 1549. At this book I will ſtop a little, being a book of eminency and remark in thoſe times; and that hath ſuch a ſtrain of truth and ſerious piety in it, that it ſeems very probable that the Archbiſhop had a conſiderable hand in it, and procured the publication of it, *cum privilegio Regali*. It was ſtyled *A Goodly Primer*, or *Book of Prayers*, and called *The King's Primer*. I ſpeak of the ſecond edition, which was about the year 1535. It began with an admonition to the reader, containing very ſharp and ſevere reflections upon the popiſh devotions, and praying to ſaints. And towards the concluſion, the writer profeſſeth, "That this his "admonition proceded neither of blynde zele, or affection, "neyther of wyll or purpoſe to offend or diſpleaſe any "man, moch leſs than to diſpleaſe any ſaint in heven; and "in no wyſe than our bleſſed Lady, but evin of very pure "love to the honour of God, and helth of mennes ſouls."

Then followeth a pious expoſition of the Ten Commandments; and the Creed. Then is a general confeſſion of ſin; which goes according to the Commandments, after this manner: 1. I have not ſet my whole belief, confidence, truſt and hope in thee, &c. 2. I have divided thy worſhip and honour from thee, and given it to thy creatures, and to dead things, imagined of my own fond fantaſy; I mean, in the miſuſing of images. 3. I have abuſed thy name, &c. 4. In the ſabbath-day I have not given myſelf to hearing, reading, and learning the holy Scriptures, &c. Then comes an expoſition upon the Lord's Prayer, and the ſalutation. Some ſhort prayers. Some graces before and after meat; 98
moſt of which are graces ſtill retained in our Engliſh primers, after the catechiſm. And the method of the book is the ſame with our children's primer now in uſe. In this edition there was a litany added, with a preface before it, directly againſt praying to ſaints, and ſhewing the difference of the caſe, between preſenting our petitions to God, and preſenting a petition to an earthly King: that though this latter cannot be done without the mediation of ſome ſervant of the King, yet the former may be done immediately to God, in the name of Chriſt. Beſides, he ſaid, there were many

BOOK I. Anno 1512.

doubtful ſaints: that many ſaints canonized by the Biſhop of Rome, whether they were ſaints or no, he committed to the ſecret judgment of God. By this taſte of the preface, you eaſily ſee, why Biſhop Boner placed it among the prohibited books, to be diligently ſearched for. The litany the author added, for the ſake of many people, that thought there could be no right prayers without they were in the old form of proceſſions, which were by way of litany, or ſupplication to angels and ſaints. And ſo he writ in this preface, that it was for the contentation of ſuch weak minds, and ſomewhat to bear their infirmities, that he had, at this his ſecond edition of the primer, cauſed the litany to be printed. In this litany all doubtful ſaints are left out, and he addreſſeth only to the holy angels St. Michael, St. Raphael, &c. to pray for us; and the bleſſed apoſtles, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, &c. The prayer for the King nameth King Henry VIII. and his gracious ſon Prince Edward. In the calendar Thomas a Becket's days are ſtill retained in red letters: but I ſuppoſe that was done of courſe by the printer, uſing the old calendar. In the ſame book is a large and pious paraphraſe on Pſalm li. A dialogue between the Father and the Son. Meditations on Chriſt's paſſion; and many other things.

The Archbiſhop inſtrumental to the reformation in Scotland.

By ſomewhat that happened this year, the Archbiſhop proved very inſtrumental in promoting the reformation of corrupt religion in the neighbouring nation of Scotland: which this year had received a great overthrow by the Engliſh army; and great numbers of Scottiſh noblemen and gentlemen were taken priſoners, and brought up to London, and after diſpoſed of in the houſes of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, under an eaſy reſtraint. The Earl of Caſſillis was ſent to Lambeth; where the good Archbiſhop ſhewed him all reſpects, in providing him with neceſſaries and conveniences, but eſpecially in taking care of his ſoul. He detected to him the great errors of popery, and the reaſons of thoſe regulations that had been lately made in religion in England. And ſo ſucceſsful was the Archbiſhop herein, that the Earl went home much enlightened in true religion; which that nation then had a great averſion to, for they highly miſliked the courſes King Henry took.

Hiſt Reform. vol. i. p. 320.

Which prejudices the King underſtanding, endeavoured to take off, by ſending Barlow, Biſhop of St. David's, to Scotland, with the book of *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*: which nevertheleſs made no great impreſſion upon that people. But this that happened to the Scottiſh nobility, that were now taken priſoners, and eſpecially this gueſt of the Archbiſhop, becoming better inclined to religion by the knowledge they received while they remained here, had a happier effect, and brought on the reformation that after happened in that kingdom. CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1542.

The parliament being ſummoned in January, in order to the King's making war with France, (whither he intended to go in perſon,) the Archbiſhop reſolved to try this occaſion to do ſome good ſervice again for religion, which had of late received a great ſtop. His endeavour now was to moderate the ſevere acts about religion, and to get ſome liberty for the people's reading of the Scripture. Cranmer firſt made the motion, and four biſhops, *viz.* Worceſter, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Rocheſter, ſeconded him. But Wincheſter oppoſed the Archbiſhop's motion with all earneſtneſs. And the faction combined with ſo much violence, that theſe biſhops and all other fell off from the Archbiſhop; and two of them endeavoured to perſuade the Archbiſhop to deſiſt at preſent, and to ſtay for a better opportunity. But he refuſed, and followed his ſtroke with as much vigour as he could; and in fine, by his perſuaſion with the King and the Lords, a bill paſſed. And the King was the rather inclined thereunto, becauſe he being now to go abroad upon a weighty expedition, thought convenient to leave his ſubjects at home as eaſy as might be. So with much ſtruggling an act was paſſed, intituled, *An act for the advancement of true religion, and the aboliſhment of the contrary*. In this act, as Tindal's tranſlation of the Scriptures was forbidden to be kept or uſed, ſo other Bibles were allowed to ſome perſons, excepting the annotations and preambles, which were to be cut or daſhed out. And the King's former proclamations and injunctions, with the primers, and other books printed in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of the people before the year 1540, were ſtill to be in force, which it ſeems before were not. And that

An act procured by the Archbiſhop.

Hiſt. Refor. vol. i. p. 321.

BOOK I. Anno 1542.

every nobleman and gentleman might have the Bible read in their houſes: and that noble ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themſelves: but no men or women under thoſe degrees. That every perſon might read and teach in their houſes the book ſet out in the year 1540, (which was, *The neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*,) with the Pſalter, Primer, Pater-noſter, Ave, and Creed in Engliſh. But when Wincheſter and his party ſaw that they could not hinder the bill from paſſing, they clogged it with proviſos, that it came ſhort of what the Archbiſhop intended it; as that the people of all ſorts and conditions univerſally might not read the Scriptures, but only ſome few of the higher rank: and that no book ſhould be printed about religion without the King's allowance: and that the act of the ſix Articles ſhould be in the ſame force it was before.

100 *A Biſhop conſecrated.*

Paul Buſh.

June the 25th, being Sunday, Paul Buſh, Provincial of the Bonhommes, was conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Briſtol by Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſted by Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, and John Suffragan of Bedford. This conſecration was celebrated in the pariſh-church of Hampton, in the dioceſe of Weſtminſter.

CHAP. XXV.

Preſentments at a Viſitation.

Anno 1543. The King's book publiſhed by authority.

BY the act above mentioned, the generality of the people were reſtrained from reading the holy Scriptures. But in lieu of it was ſet forth by the King and his clergy, in the year 1543, a doctrine for all his ſubjects to uſe and follow; which was the book aboveſaid: and all books that were contrary to it, were by authority of parliament condemned. It was printed in London by Thomas Barthelet. This book the Archbiſhop enjoined to be made public in his dioceſe, (as I ſuppoſe it was in all other dioceſes throughout the

kingdom,) and allowed no preaching or arguing againſt it. And when one Mr. Joſeph, once a friar in Canterbury, now a learned and earneſt preacher, (and who was afterward preferred to Bow-Church in London,) had attempted to preach againſt ſome things in the book, the Archbiſhop checked and forbad him: for indeed there were ſome points therein which the Archbiſhop himſelf did not approve of, foiſted into it by Wincheſter's means and intereſt at that time with the King. Which biſhop, politicly as well as flatteringly, called it *The King's Book*, a title which the Archbiſhop did not much like; for he knew well enough Wincheſter's hand was in it: and ſo he told him plainly in King Edward's time, when he might ſpeak his mind; telling him in relation thereunto, that *he had ſeduced the King*. But becauſe of the authority of the parliament ratifying the book, and the many good and uſeful things that were in it, the Archbiſhop introduced and countenanced it in his dioceſe, and would not allow open preaching againſt it. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543.

A viſitation at Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop, about the month of September, held a viſitation in Canterbury: chiefly becauſe of the jangling of the preachers, and the divers doctrines vented among them, according as their fancies, intereſts, or judgments led them. The viſitation proceeded upon the King's injunctions, and other late ordinances. And here I ſhall ſet down before the reader ſome of the preſentments, as I take them from an original in a volume that belonged to this Archbiſhop. Wherein notice may be taken, what ignorance was then in ſome of the prieſts; what bandying againſt one another, and what good progreſs the Goſpel did begin to make, and what good numbers of prieſts and laymen there were that favoured of the Goſpel-doctrine.

Init. Accuſatio Cranmer, inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

Preſentments. 101

Sir Humphrey Chirden, Parſon of St. Elphins, on a Sunday in Lent, ſaid, "If Judas had gone to God and confeſſed "his fault, ſaying *Peccavi*, as he went unto the prieſts, he "had not been damned." This paſſage was plain enough levelled againſt confeſſing to a prieſt. But this was preſentable, becauſe againſt the ſix Articles.

One Lancaſter, the parſon of Pluckley, was preſented, becauſe that when one Giles ſaid, that he bleſſed himſelf

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

daily and nightly, saying, *In nomine Patris, et Filii et Sp. Sancti;* and then said, in the honour of God and our Lady, and all the company of heaven, and for all christian souls that God would have prayed for, a Pater-noster, an Ave, and a Creed; the said parson said to him, that if he knew it of truth that the said Giles used the same form of prayer, he would not accompany him, nor once drink with him.

Vincent Ingeam (a justice of peace I suppose) commanded on Easter Munday, 33° of the King, that no man should read, or hear the Bible read, upon pain of imprisonment: and cast two into prison, the one for speaking against him therein, and the other for shewing him the King's injunctions concerning the same. He repugned against the doings of the commissary for taking down the image of St. John, by the King's commandment. Where I find, among other witnesses to this, one Daniel Cranmer, a relation doubtless of the Archbishop.

Sir Thomas, Curate of Sholden, and Thomas Sawier, set up again four images, which by the King's commandment were taken down, for abuses by pilgrimages and offerings: *viz.* St. Nicolas, St. Stephen, St. Laurence, and our Lady.

Another accused for forsaking his own parish-church at the time of Easter, two years together, [not liking his parish-priest for his affection to the Gospel,] and for going to Walsingham, [in pilgrimage:] and that he would at no time shew to the Vicar a lawful certificate that he had received the blessed sacrament at the time commonly accustomed, as a christian man ought to do. And obstinately refused to learn his Pater-noster, Ave, Credo, and Ten Commandments in English, according to the King's injunctions.

Sir Edward Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, had not declared to his parishioners the right use of ceremonies, neither shewed the difference between them and works commanded by God, as he is commanded by the King's proclamation. He had not preached against the Bishop of Rome his usurped power, and set forth the King's supremacy, as he is bound by the King's injunctions, and other his proceedings. He hath not preached his quarter's sermons, neither at Boughton, nor at his benefice in the Marsh. He never declared,

that the even of ſuch ſaints, whoſe days be abrogated, be no faſting-days. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury, (that was Edmund, the Archbiſhop's brother,) the morrow after the Aſcenſion was three years, took out of the church of St. Andrew's in Canterbury three lamp tapers brenning before the ſacrament, and a coat from a rood, and did violently break the arms and legs of the rood.

Sir William Kemp, Vicar of Northgate, had not read the Bible ſince Pentecoſt, as he was commanded by the ordinary. He doth not declare to his pariſhioners the right uſe of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candle-mas-day, giving of aſhes, bearing of palms, creeping to the croſs: for lack whereof the moſt part of the ſaid pariſh be as ignorant in ſuch things, as ever they were. And many of them do abuſe holy water, inſomuch that againſt tempeſts of thunder and lightning, many run to the church for holy water to caſt about their houſes, to drive away evil ſpirits and devils, notwithſtanding the King's proclamations in the ſame. He hath not read to them the King's injunctions, as he ought to do, by reaſon whereof his pariſh be blind and ignorant in them. 102

Bartholomew Joy confeſſed to his Curate in general, ſaying, I am a ſinner. And when the Vicar aſked him wherein he had ſinned, he anſwered, that he had confeſſed himſelf to the Lord already, and that he would make none other confeſſion at that time; and ſo departed.

John Tofts, Chriſtopher Levenyſh, Bartholomew Joy, in the thirtieth of the King, pulled down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apoſtles, the picture of our Lady, and St. John Baptiſt. And in the thirty-fourth of the King, Tofts pulled down the picture of our Lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his houſe, and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, the ſame Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in Engliſh in the church to his wife, Sterkies wife, George Tofts' wife, to the midwife of the ſame pariſh, and to as many others as then were preſent.

Joanna Meriwether of St. Mildred's pariſh, for diſpleaſure

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

that ſhe bare towards a young maid named Elizabeth Celſay, and her mother, made a fire upon the dung of the ſaid Elizabeth; and took a holy candle, and dropt upon the ſaid dung. And ſhe told unto her neighbours, that the ſaid enchantment would make the cule of the ſaid maid to divide into two parts.

Rafe, the bell-ringer of Chriſt-Church, at the burial of Dr. Champion, [the Archbiſhop's chaplain,] after the prieſt had cenſed his grave, and a boy was bearing away the cenſers and the coals, called after the boy, and took the cenſers, and poured the hot coals upon him in his grave, to the great ſlander of the ſaid Dr. Champion, as though he had been an heretic, worthy burning. Alſo he ſaid, the King was content that all images ſhould be honoured as they were wont to be.

Coxſon, petty Canon of Chriſt Church, made his teſtament, by the advice of Mr. Parkhurſt, Mr. Sandwich, and Mr. Mills, canons of the ſaid church; and gave and bequeathed to every Vicar of Chriſt Church twenty pence, that had a pair of beads, and would ſay our Lady pſalter for his ſoul departed. And this was executed according to the will.

The Parſon of Alyngton never preached in the church of Alyngton, nor declared againſt the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome, nor ſet forth the King's ſupremacy according to the King's proclamations, letters, and injunctions. He hath been a great ſetter forth in his pariſh of the Maid of Kent, pilgrimages, fained relics, and other ſuch ſuperſtitions; and yet never recanted, and reproved the ſame, according to the King's Majeſty's injunctions. He hath not declared to his pariſhioners, that the eves of ſuch holy
103 days as be abrogate be no faſting-days, according to the King's injunctions. So upon the Sundays, Candlemas-day, Aſh-Wedneſday, Palm-Sunday, and Good-Friday, he hath not declared the true uſe of the ceremonies, uſed thoſe days according to the King's proclamation.

The Curate of Stodmerſh did diſſuade men from eating of white-meats the laſt Lent, and rebuked them that did eat white-meats. About All-hallontide was twelvemonth he preached in St. Dunſtan's church beſide Canterbury, that

" men ſhould love God, and fear God, but not to truſt him " too much."

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1543.

Turner, in the time of his being at Chartham, did caſt no holy water, neither before the ſacrament, nor upon any altar in the church, (except the high altar.) Nor alſo before the crucifix in the rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He chriſtened three children upon one day, and did not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor belly. He neither incenſed the crucifix in the rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor diſtributed any holy candles among his pariſhioners, as hath been accuſtomed.

Sir James Newman and one Lawrence took down an image of our Lady; to the which was no offering, except candles at the purification of women: nor any miracles noted to be done there by the ſaid image.

Scory, one of the ſix preachers, ſaid, that much ſuperſtitions were uſed in the church, as making of croſſes upon Palm-Sunday, ſetting of them up, and bleſſing them with the holy candles; ringing of bells in the thunder. " For " think you," ſaid he, " that the Devil will be afraid, or " flee away at croſs-making, hurling of holy water, ringing " of bells, and ſuch other ceremonies; when he was not " afraid to take Chriſt himſelf, and caſt him on his back, " and ſet him on a pinnacle? Thoſe things that be good of " themſelves may not utterly be put away, although they " be abuſed. For then the holy ſacrament of the altar " ſhould be ſet aſide, which is daily bought and ſold."

Serles, one of the ſix preachers, in a ſermon ſaid, " If the " preacher preach error and erroneous doctrine, the ſimple " man, though he receive it and believe it, it doth not infect " nor corrupt him." And this he repeated twice. He ſaid alſo, that " Moſes ſent letters from hell, to teach the ſtate " thereof, and how men ſhould live: and another likewiſe " out of heaven. Item, they ſay," ſaid he, " that only " faith juſtifies, and that it maketh no matter how we do " live: Chriſt died for us, and by his blood hath waſhed all " our ſins away; therefore what needeth us to faſt or " pray?"

Sandwich, a Canon of Chriſt's Church, ſaid in his ſermon

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

in the year 1542, "Whereas a good chriſtian, or evil, "preached unto you truly the word of God, as I report me "to the conſcience of you all; yet ſome that have evil ears, "did evil report of me. But if their ears were cut off, "as Malchus's was, and ſet up where every man might "wonder at them, I think therein a man ſhould not wiſh "much againſt charity." At another time, in the year 1543, he ſaid in his ſermon, "Some, if they are given to goodneſs, "to follow the decrees of holy church, to kneel before
104 "the bleſſed ſacrament, they will counſel them from the "ſame, and ſay, *Deus in manufactis templis non habitat.* "They will have none of the holy doctors. They will not "have St. Auguſtin, St. Ambroſe, St. Hierom, St. Gregory, "Baſil, Gregory Nazianzen, &c. Since the time we have "been given to new fangles, the ſpirit of new fangle hath "brought in the ſpirit of error. But what remedy then," ſaid he, "to obtain the ſpirit of truth again? Of that," ſaid he, "I ſpake the laſt time that I preached, and ſhewed "you that we muſt return where we went out. We muſt "return to our dog, to our conſcience again; and that will "certify us where is the truth."

Shether, one of the ſix preachers, ſaid, "That there was "one ſtrait way to the truth, in which we and all men have "gone a long time; ſaving a few now of late, not being "content to follow that trade, have wandered in divers "pathways to ſeek a nearer way to the truth. But they "are like unto one, that, being clean loſt, was fain to aſk "which way he might go to the end of his journey? And "to ſuch it was anſwered, You be clean out of the way, "and there is none other means for you, but even to turn "back again, and to begin your journey again where you "left." Nothing at all, as the informer adds, admoniſhing the people of the way, which men had loſt, by defending and retaining the uſurpations of Rome: nor no mention that the King's Majeſty hath reformed the abuſes of ſuperſtitious religion. But even as one, that would have all things honeſtly reformed, to revert again into their ſuperſtition, for the maintenance of all blindneſs and error, commanded every man to turn back, and to begin where they left.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543.

Dr. Willowby, the Vicar of Chilham, keepeth ſtill in his church a certain ſhrine gilt, named St. Auſtin's ſhrine: which ſhrine was conveyed from St. Auſtin's of Canterbury unto the pariſh-church of Chilham, at the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtery of St. Auſtin's. *Item*, a rood there, which had ſhoes of ſilver, being a monument of pilgrimage, or offering, ſtandeth yet ſtill, being only ſpoiled of the monument. He ſaid, images had power of God to help ſick people vowing unto them, the communication then being of our Lady of Cutupſtreet, between the ſaid Vicar and one Dawſon of Chartham, a miller. *Memorandum*, that Potter's wife was baniſhed out of Feverſham for her ſuſpect lying with Dr. Willowby, and alſo was compelled to forſake Chilham for the ſame, about two or three years paſt; and yet ſhe remains in the company of the ſaid Doctor.

Serles, mentioned before, in a ſermon made in the chapter-houſe of Chriſt's Church, anno 1543, ſaid, Some that occupy this place of preaching ſay no mattins, maſs, nor even-ſong, once in a quarter. They be never ſeen confeſſed, nor to occupy porteous, nor maſs-book. Theſe uſe no vocal prayer: beware of their doctrine. In the church of Leneham, in the day of Aſſumption, he ſaid, That as the moon is in the full at fourteen days, even ſo Mary was conceived fully with Chriſt, when ſhe was fourteen years old. *Item*, he ſaid, That if one had looked in Mary, when ſhe was full conceived with Chriſt, he ſhould have perceived him in his mother's womb with a buſh of thorns on his back: for he was crucified, crowned, and pricked with thorns. That Mary bare Chriſt poorly; for ſhe had no fire, but begged 105
a coal of one, and a ſtick of another, to warm her child. He preached, that Mary nouriſhed her ſon with milk, but not with material milk, but with milk that came from heaven: for no woman elſe can nouriſh her child with material milk, than ſhe that is conceived by knowledge of man. [And no queſtion this heavenly milk came along the milky way.] That all the whole faith of the world remained in Mary only for the ſpace of three days and three nights. That faith was dead in the Apoſtles, and in all the world, from the death of Chriſt till his reſurrection, and remained in the Virgin Mary whole and only. That the ſorrows that

BOOK I. Anno 1548.

ſhe had were greater and more painful than Chriſt's, but for death only. That Chriſt deſcended into hell, and roſe the third day and aſcended into heaven, and many more with him; ſaying thus, *Multa corpora aſcenderunt cum Chriſto, ut perhiberent teſtimonium.* In Aſhford he preached, that prayer was not acceptable with God, but in the church only, and no where elſe; alleging this text, *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.* Then and there he ſaid alſo, You fellows of the new trick, that go up and down with your Teſtaments in your hands, I pray you what profit take you by them? [This laſt paſſage relating to the Teſtament was interlined by Cranmer himſelf.] As Adam was expulſed out of Paradiſe for meddling with a tree of knowledge, even ſo be we for meddling with the Scripture of Chriſt. He ſaid, There were ſome that ſaid, that part of the Ave Maria was made to a ſtrumpet. That Chriſt in the Goſpel confounded Mary Magdalene with two parables, likening her to an aleſtake, and to a poor woman whom an Emperor had married, and in his preſence did lie with a leprous lazar-man. Anno 1542, preaching in Kennyngton church on Good-Friday, he ſaid, That as a man was creeping to the croſs upon a Good-Friday, the image looſed itſelf off the croſs, and met the man before he came to the croſs, and kiſſed him. At the funeral of Mr. Boys he preached, That by the receiving of the ſacraments and penance, all a man's deadly ſins were forgiven clearly, but the venial ſins remained; and for them they that died ſhould be puniſhed, except they were relieved by maſſes and dirges after their death. [This that follows is Cranmer's hand;] He preacheth no ſermon, but one part of it is an invective againſt the other preachers of Chriſt's Church.

Shether preached at Sandwich in the year 1542, That baptiſm taketh away but only original ſin. At another time there, That every man, ſince the paſſion of Chriſt, hath as much liberty and free-will as ever Adam had in Paradiſe before his fall. That the new preachers, with the liberty of the Goſpel, have cauſed our livings to be worſe than the Turks. That Zacharias, and Elizabeth his wife, kept all the commandments of God; and that it was a light thing for every man to keep them, if he would. That Chriſt and

baptiſm did nothing elſe but waſh away original ſin: and that if any man after baptiſm did fall, he muſt purchaſe remiſſion of his ſins by penance, as Mary Magdalene did. That a certain king was ſick of a leproſy, and had a viſion to go to Jordan to be waſhed, and ſhould be whole. And as he was in his good intent going, he thought that he had as good and ſweet water in his own country, as that was; and ſo returned back and waſhed himſelf therein, but nothing at all he thereby mended: and then he went to Jordan, and ſo was made whole. He compared man's conſcience to a dog. Beware of theſe falſe preachers, which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to diſcern a true preacher from a falſe? You have a dog, which is your conſcience: whenſoever you ſhall come to any ſermon, aſk your dog, what he ſaith unto it? If he ſay, it be good, then follow it: but if your dog bark againſt it, and ſay it is naught, then beware and follow it not. Adding theſe words, If you will aſk your conſcience, what ſhe thinks of ſuch new fangles as are brought into the Church of God, ſhe will ſay, that they be naught. He alſo preached, that men now-a-days ſay, that holy water ſignifieth of Chriſt's blood. O! theſe are very glorious words. But it is not fit, good Chriſtians, that ſuch new fangles and fantaſies of men ſhould be brought into the Church of God. *Item*, In all his ſermons he commonly uſeth to make invectives againſt the other preachers of this cathedral church; making the people believe that the preachers of the Church preach nothing but a carnal liberty, new fangles, new auricular confeſſion, prayers, faſting, and all good works. This laſt is added by Cranmer's hand, as are alſo ſeveral other paſſages above, according as he himſelf took the examination. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543. 106

And as the Goſpellers thus articled againſt the Papiſts, ſo the Papiſts were as hot in drawing up articles againſt the Goſpellers.

Scory, before mentioned, was accuſed, that he preached in a ſermon at St. Elphy's, on Aſcenſion-day 1541, That there was none in heaven but Chriſt only; [meaning, I ſuppoſe, as mediators there with God, in oppoſition to the interceſſion of ſaints.] Then followeth, writ by Cranmer's

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

hand, theſe words; "The witneſſes againſt him were Bradkirk, prieſt, Shether, Marden, Colman;" adding, "Theſe "four be witneſſes againſt all the articles of Ridley and "Scory, in the firſt detection made to me two years paſt." Then follow more accuſations of Scory. He preached in Auguſt laſt, in the chapter-houſe of Chriſt's Church, That no man may pray in any wiſe in Latin, or other tongue, except he underſtand what he prayeth: and that prieſts and clerks do offend, taking any money or reward for ſaying *dirige* and maſs. He ſaid, that ſome preachers brought in their ſermons *Geſta Romanorum*, perſuading to the people, that it was the Goſpel or the Bible. Another time, anno 1541, he preached in Lent in Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, That only faith juſtifies; and he that doth deny that only faith doth juſtify, would deny, if he durſt be ſo bold, that Chriſt doth juſtify. He preached at Chriſt's Church another time, That the ſupper of the Lord, which is *Sacrificium et Hoſtia*, is not *Hoſtia pro peccatis*, but *Hoſtia Laudis*. He preached at Faverſham, anno 1542, in the Feaſt of Dedication, That the dedication of material churches was inſtituted for the biſhops' profits; and that he could not ſee by Scripture that they might uſe any ſuch faſhions for that purpoſe, as for conjuration. And then they muſt conjure the Devil out of the ground, or out of the lime and ſtones. And if ſo, then it were as neceſſary for every man's houſe to be
107 conſecrate or dedicate. Admit, quoth he, that the dedication of the ſame were lawful, yet the biſhops ſhould always preach, (for that is their office;) and other men might and may conſecrate them as well as they.

Item, This ſumptuous adorning of churches is againſt the old faſhion of the primitive church. They had no ſuch copes, nor chalices, nor other jewels, nor gildings, nor paintings of images, as we now have. And therefore, if I were curate, I would ſell all ſuch things, or lay them to pledge to help the poor.

At Chriſtmas laſt there was a general proceſſion by the King's Majeſty, and Mr. Scory preached theſe words: "Every country hath a cuſtom to chooſe a patron. As Eng-"land hath choſen St. George; Scotland, St. Andrew, &c. "thinking rather by interceſſion of ſaints to obtain the vic-

" tory of their enemies. But, good people, quoth he, for- CHAP.
" aſmuch as ſaints be circumſcript, it is not poſſible for the XXV.
" ſaint that is in the north to hear the prayer that is made Anno 1543.
" in the ſouth; nor that ſaint that is in the ſouth to hear
" the prayer that is made in the north." But this laſt paſſage of the Chriſtmas ſermon hath a croſs ſtruck through it.

Ridley, the prebendary, was charged, Sept. 22, 1543, that he preached at St. Stephen's, in the Rogation-week, anno Reg. 32. that auricular confeſſion was but a mere poſitive law, and ordained as a godly means for the ſinner to come to the prieſt for counſel; but he could not find it in Scripture. And that there was no meeter terms to be given to the ceremonies of the Church, than to call them *beggarly ceremonies*. That *Te Deum* hath been ſung commonly in Engliſh at Herne, where the ſaid Mr. Doctor is Vicar.

Brooks, one of the ſix preachers, was accuſed for preaching, That all maſters and miſtreſſes were bound to eat eggs, butter, and cheeſe in Lent, to give example to their houſeholds to do the ſame. [This the papiſts thought a breaking of Lent, to allow this eating of white-meats, whereas fiſh only ought to be eaten.] And he thought that the ceremonies of the Church were but *beggarly ceremonies*, and that was the meeteſt term he could give them.

Thomas Carden, Vicar of Lime, in a Lenten-ſermon, anno 1543, ſaid, He ſuppoſed St. Katharine was rather a devil in hell, than a ſaint in heaven. And that the people ſaid naught, and that this term was naught to ſay, That they ſhould receive their Maker at Eaſter; but they ſhould ſay, we ſhall receive our houſel. He preached, That the water in the font is no better than other water is.

Drum, one of the ſix preachers in the year 1543, preached in a ſermon made in Chriſt's Church, that we may not pray in an unknown tongue; for if we do, we do but mock with God, and of God we be mocked. As if a man do come to a lord, and babble to him words he knoweth not, the lord will but mock him, and account him for a fool. So thy prayer, man, not underſtood, is but babbling; and for that before God thou art but a fool. Your pſalmody and ſong in the church is ſo taken with God, if that you, which do occupy yourſelves therein, do not underſtand it. And

BOOK I. Anno 1543. 108

thou that ſo babbleſt doſt break the command of God: for it is written, *Non accipies nomen Dei in vanum.* And you do call on God vainly, when you do call upon him in a tongue that you underſtand not. Wherefore to ſuch as know not the Latin, it muſt be needful to pray in the mother-tongue. *Item,* That the material church is a thing made and ordained to content the affections of men, and is not the thing that pleaſeth God, nor that God requires; but is a thing that God doth tolerate for the weakneſs of men. For as the father contenteth his child with an apple, or a hobby-horſe; not becauſe theſe things do delight the father, but becauſe the child, ruled by affections, is more deſirous of theſe things than the father is rejoiced in the deed: ſo Almighty God, condeſcending to the infirmities of man, and his weakneſs, doth tolerate material churches, gorgeouſly built, and richly decked; not becauſe he requires, or is pleaſed with ſuch things. This Drum was one of the Cambridge men that Cardinal Wolſey tranſplanted into his college at Oxon, and who ſuffered impriſonment there ſome time after with Cox and Frith, and divers others of the ſame college, for matters of religion. But however, Drum afterwards fell away into papiſtry.

Lancaſter, Parſon of Pluckley, uſeth not in the church-porch any hally-water, according to the laudable cuſtom of the Church. A great part of his pariſh uſeth not to receive hally-bread. Going on proceſſion, he uſeth not to rehearſe *Sancta Maria,* nor any other ſaints' names.

The Curate of Much Mongam, going on proceſſion, refuſeth, and will in no wiſe ſing nor ſay the Litany in ſuch manner as all other curates do.

Reflections upon the former preſentments.

All theſe collections I have made out of the original of this viſitation of the Archbiſhop. Wherein may be ſeen the particular matters in theſe times vented and toſſed about in the pulpits; the trifling way of popiſh preaching, conſiſting in ridiculous lying fables and ſtories, as is uſed ſtill in the popiſh countries; and with how much more ſolidity, truth, and reaſon, the ſermons of thoſe who favoured the Goſpel were repleniſhed. We may obſerve here alſo, how diligent our Archbiſhop was in his care of his dioceſe, and the pains

he took to come to a perfect detection of his clergy, in order to their regulation, and divers other things, which an ingenious reader will take notice of. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543.

The Archbishop had all the prebendaries and preachers before him in his consistory at Croydon, on Trinity-Sunday was twelvemonth; where he argued with them, instructed, rebuked, exhorted them, according as he saw needful for every man, with relation unto the articles above said. He told Serles, who had preached in favour of images in churches, as representatives of saints, and not idols, "That "*Imago* and *Idolum* was one thing; but the one was the "Latin, the other the Greek." To which Gardiner, a prebend of the Church, replied, "that he did not think that "an image and an idol was one, but that an image, not "abused with honour, is an image, and not an idol." This saying of the Archbishop did so gall them, that they took occasion after, in their sermons, to confute it. And they lyingly reported in Canterbury, that the Archbishop should say, he would be even with Gardiner, or that Gardiner should repent his reasoning with him. Whereas all that Cranmer said was, that the communication that Gardiner had that day should be repeated again at his Grace's coming to Canterbury. The same day the Archbishop told them, that he had set in their church six preachers, three of the old learning, and three of the new. Now Gardiner told him, he thought that would not be for the most quietness in preachers. The Archbishop replied, that he had shewed the King's grace what he had done in that matter, and that the King's pleasure was, that it should be so. He then also gave them warning, that none should inveigh against others in their sermons.

The prebendaries and preachers admonished by the Archbishop.

109

BOOK I.

Anno 1543.

CHAP. XXVI.

A black Cloud over the Archbiſhop.

The prebendaries plot againſt the Archbiſhop.

SOON after this, a great and black cloud hung over our Archbiſhop's head, that threatened to break upon him in thunder and lightning. The prebendaries and others of the church of Canterbury, for the moſt part, were addicted to the Pope and the old ſuperſtitions: which the Archbiſhop's endeavour to aboliſh, and to bring in truer knowledge of religion among them, cauſed them to do what they could to oppoſe him. And indeed they uſually carried themſelves diſobligingly enough to him: which made him ſay to one of them, *viz.* Gardiner, alias Sandwich, "You and your com-"pany hold me ſhort; but I will hold you as ſhort." They ſeemed now to have a fair advantage againſt him, upon account of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles: which the King at this time ſtood much upon the execution of; and did give out, that he required juſtices and others, his officers, in their ſeveral places, to give notice of all diſobedience againſt it. The Biſhop of Wincheſter alſo was now in great favour with the King, a conſtant adverſary to Canterbury, and implacably ſet againſt the new learning, as it was then called. He thought to take this opportunity to deal ſo effectually with the King, as to get the Goſpel deſtroyed, and all that adhered to it. And moreover, about this time was given out a ſaying ordinarily, that "the Biſhop of Wincheſter had "bent his bow to ſhoot at ſome of the head deer:" meaning, as the iſſue made manifeſt, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Queen Katharine Par, and others of the court.

Wincheſter the chief manager.

And to carry on his purpoſe, he, being a privy-counſellor himſelf, had an underſtanding with ſome of the council, who were of his mind, and ready to ſecond theſe his ends: as among the reſt was Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. Theſe were his confidants at home. Abroad, to be his ſolicitor and his great agitator, he had a very fit man for his purpoſe, one Dr. London, Warden of New College, Oxon, Prebend of Shipton in the church of

Sarum, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Osenay, a very busy zealot: who was in his time the great contriver and practiser of mischief against good men that could not comply with papal superstitions. He was one of the three that some years before now prosecuted most rigorously the good students in the Cardinal's college, when by imprisonment and hard usage several of them died. But this man was met with; not long after this suffering public shame for perjury, and died in a jail. At one and the same time Winchester, with this his trusty partner London, was driving on two games together: the one was to bring into trouble several of the King's own court, that were favourers of the Gospel; not liking that such should be so near the King: and the other was to overthrow the good Archbishop, and his friends in his diocese of Canterbury, and to extinguish that light of the Gospel that began notably to shine there. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1542. 110

Winchester designs the death of divers of the court.

For the compassing the first, they procured among them a special sessions to be held at Windsor: wherein they not only, upon the six Articles, condemned four poor honest men, *viz.* Persons, Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck, whereof the three former were burnt to death; but they drew up a bundle of indictments against a very great many, and some of eminency about the King, as Cardin and Hobby, knights, of the King's privy chamber; with the ladies Harman and Welden, Snowbal and his wife, and a great many more of the King's true and peaceable subjects. One Ockham, that served for clerk of the peace at that time, had these indictments ready to carry them to the chief patron of these plots, the Bishop of Winchester. But this design, notwithstanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not effect; but he rather brought himself into disgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the Queen, being at sessions at Windsor at that time, and observing what was done, hastily rode to court, and discovered to the persons concerned what was hatching against them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his indictments to the Bishop of Winchester: who, as soon as he had received them, would without doubt have laid them before the King and his council. But by this seasonable notice they waylaid Ockham, and Cardin and others seized him, and all his papers, as soon as Fox.

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

he came to court, before he got to Winchester. These papers were perused by some of the privy council; and seeing what large numbers, it may be, of themselves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and designed for death, they thought fit to acquaint the King with it. And he, not liking such bloody doings, gave them all a pardon: and observing how Winchester was the great agent in all this, never liked him after.

And of the Archbishop and his friends.

But Winchester and London had other irons in the fire against the Archbishop and his friends at and about Canterbury: and particularly Dr. Ridley, a prebendary, Scory, Lancelot Ridley, and Drum, three of the preachers. And to bring mischief upon these, by the instigation of Winchester and practice of London, several of the prebendaries, and some of the six preachers, combine in a resolution to draw up accusations, both against the Archbishop and against his friends. But neither did this Winchester's second plot succeed, but rather drew shame upon himself, and those that assisted in it.

The papers relating to Archbishop Cranmer's accusation.

There is a volume in the Benet College library, entitled, *Accusatio Cranmeri:* wherein are contained the rough papers of the examinations that were taken of these accusers of the Archbishop; the interrogatories put to them, their confessions and submissions to the Archbishop. Upon which papers this was writ by the hand of Archbishop Parker, in whose possession they afterwards came, *viz.*

111

"*Memorandum*, that King Henry, being divers times by "Bishop Gardiner informed against Bishop Cranmer, and "the said Gardiner having his instructions of one Dr. London, "a stout and filthy prebendary of Windsor, who there con- "victed [of perjury] did wear a paper openly, and rode "through the town with his face toward the horse-tail; "and also had information of Mr. Moyles, Mr. Baker, and "of some others promoted by the said Cranmer; (whose "tales he uttered to the King;) perceiving the malice, "trusted the said Cranmer with the examination of these "matters; which he did of divers persons, as by this doth "appear."

The contents thereof.

Hence I have carefully extracted some particulars, that I may give a particular account of this exquisite piece of

malice; which aimed at nothing leſs than this good man's life, and that they might make him tread the ſame path with his friend Crumwel two or three years before, as a reward of his endeavours in ſetting forward a reformation in the church. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

But firſt I will ſet down the names of the prebendaries and preachers of the cathedral church of Canterbury, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion often to mention divers of them. The canons and preachers of Canterbury.

Canons of Canterbury, Anno 1543.

Richard Thornden, Suffragan of Dover; Arthur Sentleger; Richard Parkhurſt, Parſon of Leneham; Nicolas Ridley, John Meines, Hugh Glazier, William Hunt, William Gardiner, John Milles, John Daniel, Robert Goldſon, John Baptiſt.

The ſix Preachers.

Robert Serles, Vicar of Charing, Michael Drum, Lancelot Ridley, John Scory, Edmund Shether, Thomas Brooke.

Many of theſe he had himſelf preferred, and was a ſpecial good lord unto. And yet ſuch was the ingratitude of ſeveral of them, that they voluntarily yielded to be made tools to carry on this wicked machination againſt him. The names of the chief actors were Thornden, who lived in the Archbiſhop's family, and eat at his table, and with whom he uſed to converſe moſt familiarly: Gardiner, whom Cranmer had taken as his own child; and he had reſigned up himſelf to him with heart, body, and ſervice, as he once ſolemnly profeſſed to the Archbiſhop: Sentleger, Milles, Parkhurſt, Serles, and Shether; and one Dr. Willoughby, beneficed in Kent, and the King's chaplain.

Their firſt attempt which they made was, to prefer bills of accuſation againſt the Archbiſhop's chaplains and preachers, *viz.* the two Ridleys, Scory, Turner, Bland, Drum, Lancaſter, and others; and ſlantingly through their ſides ſtriking at the Archbiſhop himſelf. This they did to the juſtices at their ſeſſions, upon the ſtatute of the ſix Articles. And that by the ſuggeſtion of London; who thought it convenient that the articles ſhould firſt be carried to the ſeſſions, and from thence returned to the council-board. Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the ſeſſions. 112

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

Willoughby, being the King's chaplain, and a man of some quality, was prevailed with to present the articles to the justices, and to make them willing to meddle in this affair, which otherwise they had no great stomach to do, fearing they might draw the King's displeasure upon themselves. Willoughby, by the direction of London, told Moyle and Thwaits, and the other their fellow-justices, that they should be shent for suffering such preaching and contention, without doing any thing therein to stop it. And this was that they drove at; that after these articles were preferred from the justices up to court, and seen and read by the King and council, a commission should then be obtained: and such put into the commission as might effectually take order with the preachers. And these three prebendaries, Parkhurst, Gardiner, and Mills, they laboured especially to be put in commissioners; and that the Archbishop himself should be left out: for so London had promised.

They prepare the articles, and prefer them.

Their next care was to prepare the articles. Gardiner and Serles are extraordinary diligent in this work, and had been gathering matter a good space before. The writings were finished at Justice Moyle's house: and Willoughby seems to be the man that offered the bill in court. They dealt earnestly with Baro, clerk of the peace, to draw up the indictment against the good men complained of in their bill of articles, (the chief whereof were John Bland, and Richard Turner,) but he denied it. And when the jury, that were to be sworn, came, they took them not orderly as they stood in the panel, but overleaped some of them, and left them unsworn, that they might be sure to have such men as would do their business. After they had proceeded thus far, their next care was to get their articles sent up to the court, and laid before the King and council.

They article against the Archbishop himself.

And to these aforesaid articles they drew up another book against the Archbishop himself, the matter being first plotted between Dr. London and Serles, a discontented man, lately imprisoned. And this created them a new diligence, and divers journeys from Kent to London to take their instructions, and from London to Kent, to get their informations. And there was at last a parcel of articles (trifles for the most part) raked out of the dunghill, picked up any

where, and from any perſon, without proof: for they had nothing to ſhew for the truth of them, but hearſay and report, and ſcarcely that. Serles inveigles Dr. Willoughby into this buſineſs, and brings him into acquaintance with Dr. London: in whoſe houſe the articles are firſt read, to whom it was propounded to preſent them. But when Serles had ſaid, that the things mentioned in the articles were ſuch as were openly ſpoken, Willoughby replied, "Though he heard ſuch things, he was not ſure they were "true; and there was no record to affirm them true, no "witneſſes' hands being ſubſcribed:" and ſo made a great boggle at preſenting them, and put Serles upon that work. But London urged Willoughby to carry them to the council, telling him, that it would be a matter of great danger for him, being ſo near the King, if he ſhould not give information of ſuch ill things in that country where he lived; eſpecially knowing the King's pleaſure that ſuch matters ſhould not be concealed, but that complaint ſhould be made of them to him and his council. And he bad him not fear; for that he himſelf had made ſuch a ſpectacle [d] at Windſor in bringing to light abominable hereſies, (meaning in cauſing thoſe three poor men to be burnt, and indicting ſo many more their maintainers,) whereat the King, he ſaid, was aſtoniſhed, and angry both with the doers and bearers. And therefore if he ſhould now ſhrink, he ſhould ſhew himſelf to be no true ſubject. Upon theſe words, which created ſome fear in Willoughby, if he ſhould decline what London put him on to do, he was content to preſent them.

CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

113

Thus having gotten a perſon ready for this part of the drudgery, to prefer the complaints againſt the Archbiſhop, London writ them over again, and added other new articles as he pleaſed. Which Serles himſelf liked not: but London ſaid he meant, by putting in ſome things, to bring the matter before the juſtices, and certain of the ſpirituality, for his purpoſe. Matters, many of them, of mere untruth, and not ſo much as the pretence of a rumour for. But he

London's practices.

[d] Little thinking what a ſpectacle he was ſoon after to make there, when he was carried on horſeback through the town, with a paper upon his head declaring his perjury, and his face to the horſe's tail.

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

told Willoughby and Serles, that it ſhould never be known to be their doings. And ſo Willoughby took the old copy with him into Kent, to get it recorded, and ſigned with hands: and London ſent a copy to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Willoughby being now at Canterbury about this buſineſs, requiring the prebendaries to ſign the articles, they all refuſed. Up rode Willoughby to London again, and acquaints Dr. London therewith with a heavy heart. Then he began another practice, to tamper with the juſtices, bidding Willoughby let them know, that the King would be angry with them for taking no more notice of the diſorders in Kent. London went alſo himſelf to Moyle's lodging, a leading juſtice then in Kent, and talked with him, exhorting him to forward this work againſt the Archbiſhop; telling him, that he himſelf had taken up my Lord of Canterbury before the council: meaning thereby to ſignify to him, that he needed not to fear him ſo much as he ſeemed to do, or his intereſt at the court. Upon this Moyle ſent to ſeveral other gentlemen and juſtices to ſearch out for any prieſts that wanted a crown, [as a reward for their information,] who ſhould inquire about the country for what things were rumoured againſt the Archbiſhop: and ſo as many rumours and bruits as were brought, were preſently turned into articles. But Moyle warily ſent all the reports that came to his hand to the Archbiſhop, not ſo much out of good-will to him, as that he might pretend to diſcharge his duty in giving information to the dioceſan of abuſes in his dioceſe: thereby alſo reckoning to avert the diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop from himſelf. But this London liked not of, and told him he would mar all.

A great maſs of articles againſt the Archbiſhop procured.

At length Serles and Willoughby had got together a maſs of accuſations; whether true or falſe mattered not, but a great heap they made. For theſe two were the chief collectors of articles, both at Canterbury, and other places in Kent: London having adviſed them to get as much matter as could be deviſed; for it would be the goodlieſt deed, as he ſaid, and the moſt bounden act to the King, that ever they did. Theſe reports were digeſted into two or three books. Serles brought up ſome of the articles roughly drawn to London; and London tranſcribed them, and

114

brought them to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: and there they were copied out by German Gardiner, his ſecretary, another buſy man. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

Gardiner, the prebendary, by this time had gotten a book of articles, ſigned by the reſt of the prebendaries, and Willoughby brought them up: ſome of the prebendaries coming up too, being about to be the preſenters of the book themſelves. Wincheſter, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, gave the ſaid prebendaries encouragement to proceed in what they went about. And buſy London, to make the articles the better entertained, when they ſhould be preſented to the council, had officiouſly ſhewn the copy of them to ſeveral of the ſaid council beforehand. The chief inſtruments. Gardiner.

I muſt here give this further note concerning Serles: that he was ſo zealous a man, that he had the year before put up to the council articles againſt the preachers of the Goſpel: but they were ſuch that the council thought not fit the King ſhould ſee them. Which he complained of; and it ſeems at his return was clapt up in priſon for his pains, for ſome either malicious inſinuations, or irregular practices herein. Serles.

Shether was another of the gang, and one of the forwardeſt in this invidious buſineſs againſt the innocent Archbiſhop. He was one of thoſe that came up to London to preſent the bill. It may be gueſſed what a hot-headed man he was, by a paſſage we meet with concerning him when he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1535. In which year he made ſuch a combuſtion betwixt the univerſity and the townſmen, that they being enraged againſt him, he went in danger of his life. So that he and his company were fain to go armed when they went abroad. And when he was out of his proctorſhip, the univerſity allowed him to defend himſelf from the townſmen at the univerſity charge, if he ſhould be ſet upon by them. This Shether brought up alſo his collections to one Ford, his brother-in-law, to write them out: which amounted to a great book of two days labour. For they were reſolved to have enough; and to make out in bulk, what was wanting in truth. Shether. Faſti Oxon. p. 686.

Take an hint or two here of Gardiner Biſhop of Win-

BOOK I.

Anno 1543. The Bishop of Winchester's discourse with a prebendary of Canterbury.

chester, the secret machine in all this ingrateful work. Coming once from the council, that then was beyond the sea at Calais, about the time of the breach with France, he, after hearing mass at the cathedral church at Canterbury, took his namesake Gardiner, the prebendary, by the hand, and asked him how he did, and how they did in Canterbury? Meaning in relation to religion professed in the city. And when Gardiner answered, "But meetly;" he enquired, How they did within the house among themselves, with relation to the churchmen belonging to it? He told him, that they did not agree all in preaching. "So do I hear," said Winchester. Then he asked, wherein they did not agree? Gardiner then repeated somewhat of Ridley's and Scory's sermons: and this among other things, "That prayer ought "to be made in a tongue known, and not in a tongue un-
115 "known; for so it were but babbling." Winchester then said, "He missed: for the Germans themselves are now "against that saying. Well," said he, "this is not well. "My Lord of Canterbury will look after this, I doubt not, "or else such preaching will grow unto an evil incon-"venience: I know well he will see remedy for it. Well, "how do you do with them?" Gardiner replied, "My Lord, "hardly: I am much marked in my sermons: and I can-"not tell whether I be taken, or no. I pray your good "Lordship of your counsel, what were best for me to do. "I had rather leave preaching betimes, than to be taken in "my sermons." Then said Winchester, "Do thus: write "your sermons into a book, every word, as you will preach "it; and when you go into the pulpit, deliver your book "unto the chiefest man there that can read, and let him "take heed of your book while you do preach, and say "no more but that you have written and studied for; and "I warrant you you shall do well enough. And when "you do hear any man preach any otherwise than well, "hold you contented, and meddle not; so shall you do "best." Then he passed forth his time in communication concerning the ordinances of their choir, their statutes, their masses, and hours of them. And at the last sent for Ridley the prebendary, and had some conference with him: but what, it is uncertain.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1543.

The bulky articles being at laſt hammered out and made ready, London now required Willoughby to deliver them to the council; which he would fain have ſhrunk from. He then charged him upon his allegiance to go with him to the council-chamber-door, meaning to have him into the council. Having gotten him there, he went in, and informed ſome of the privy council, (and friends, I ſuppoſe, to the matter,) that Dr. Willoughby was without, deſiring he might be called in. Willoughby was before inſtructed by London to uſe words to the council to this tenor, when he ſhould deliver his articles: *viz.* "That the King and they "had been at great charges, and taken great pains to ſet a "good and godly way among them, [meaning the ſtatute "of the ſix Articles:] and for all that they had with them "in Kent the moſt enormous hereſies. And becauſe he "heard, that it was the King's will and pleaſure that every "man, on pain of his allegiance, ſhould bring in what he "knew, or elſe, if he knew and did conceal it, it ſhould be "his damage; therefore, in diſcharge of his duty, he came "to tender that bill of articles." But this ſpeech was not delivered that day, the council not being at leiſure. And leſt ſome people, knowing the pragmatical temper of London, might be jealous what he did at the court, and ſuſpect it was for no good to the profeſſors of the Goſpel, it was ſtudiouſly given out, that he was there for ſome promotion from the King.

Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber.

The next day the ſedulous man carried Willoughby to the Lord Privy Seal [Lord Ruſſel, if I miſtake not] with his articles; but neither would my Lord Privy Seal ſee them, having no leiſure, as he pretended: I ſuppoſe, becauſe he liked them not, and loved my Lord of Canterbury. The day after London carried him to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: into whom he went and tarried an hour, carrying in the copy of the articles: in which time, no queſtion, the Biſhop and his truſty ſubſtitute contrived for the managing of the matter. Soon after Willoughby being with Wincheſter, and deſiring him that he might not be put to preſent the articles, not being able to teſtify to the truth of them, Wincheſter bade him "fear not to do his duty: and that "if the matter were not to be abiden by, the doers ſhould

Willoughby brought to the Lord Privy Seal, and to Wincheſter.

116

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

"bear the blame, and not the preſenter. And that it "was all our duties to ſtand in ſuch things as were contrary "to the King's injunctions." But notwithſtanding Willoughby got himſelf excuſed, and delivered them not; but the prebendaries ſoon after Eaſter did.

The contents of the articles againſt the Archbiſhop.

The articles are not ſpecified in the papers I uſe; but, by the interrogatories and other paſſages, it appears that ſome of them were theſe that follow: "That he rebuked "Serles for that he preached, that images might be per- "mitted in the church as repreſentatives of ſaints, and not "be idols. Item, that the Archbiſhop ſpake openly before "all the prebendaries and preachers in conſiſtory, that the "King's pleaſure was to have the ſix preachers conſiſt of "three of the new learning, and three of the old. Item, "that Serles and Shether underwent cenſure laid upon them "by the Archbiſhop for ſomewhat they had preached, "when the honeſty of their audience offered themſelves to "teſtify that they were falſely accuſed, and that that which "was laid againſt them was not true: and although they "were a great number, yet they could not be admitted. "That they were innocent preachers, and, being innocent, "were condemned, the one to priſon, and the other to read "a declaration of falſe furniſed articles. Item, that theſe "that would ſpeak againſt evil opinions, dared not; for if "they did, they were complained of, and called ſeditious "perſons, ſtirring the people to commotion: and complain- "ing to their ordinary, they got nothing but diſpleaſure; "and the evil preachers had much more favour and bold- "neſs. Item, that there were two images of Chriſt, and "two of our Lady, that were taken down; whereunto was "neither oblation, nor any lights ſtanding before them."

More articles againſt his Commiſſary.

Other articles, which were of Serles his own collecting, as appears by the interrogatories that Cranmer under his own hand had prepared to put to him, were ſuch as theſe, and were chiefly againſt the Archbiſhop's Commiſſary. "That "there were a great number of evil preachers in Canterbury "dioceſe. That the Archbiſhop's commiſſary [Dr. Leigh] "in his viſitation commanded that the wax-candles, bleſſed "upon Candlemas-day, ſhould not be delivered unto the "people. That holy-water ſhould not be borne, nor caſt into

" men's houſes. That in ſome churches, by the Commiſſary's
" command, all the images were pulled down, and hewed
" with axes. That the Commiſſary was moſt converſant
" with abjured perſons, and other ſuſpect of hereſy, aiding,
" maintaining, and ſuccouring them. That Joanna Bochier
" was delivered by the favour of the Commiſſary. [Where-
" as indeed ſhe was by the King's pardon. This is ſhe that
" was afterwards burnt for Arianiſm in King Edward's
" days.] That one Giles came to Canterbury, in a courtier's
" coat and a beard, being a prieſt, and there lodged ten
" days. And one Hardes, a juſtice, complained of him to 117
" the Commiſſary, but the Commiſſary did nothing. [Where-
" as in truth he was not a prieſt, but a layman.] That a
" taylor in Canterbury did openly read and expound the
" Scripture in his own houſe: and open reſort thither
" was ſuffered by the Commiſſary. That the Maſter of
" St. John's in Canterbury at his death refuſed to receive,
" and deſpiſed the bleſſed ſacrament: and yet, by the ſuffer-
" ance of the Commiſſary, was both buried like a true
" chriſtian, and alſo was of very many praiſed for a good
" and holy man. That Mr. Bland, in communication with
" Mr. Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, denied auricular confeſ-
" ſion to be requiſite, and delivered his opinion to the ſaid
" Sponer in writing: which the Commiſſary hearing, de-
" ſired Sponer to let him ſee the writing, ſwearing that
" he would not keep it from him: but when he had the
" bill, he put it into his purſe. That the Commiſſary re-
" ſigned a benefice to the ſaid Bland, binding Bland and
" his ſucceſſor, by a writing made under the hand of my
" Lord of Canterbury and the chapter, to pay unto him,
" and his aſſigns, a great part of the clear yearly value for
" many years." This was the ſum of Serles's articles: but moſt of them were found to be frivolous and falſe.

Articles yet more againſt our Archbiſhop were, " That he More ſtill.
" held a conſtant correſpondence with Germany, ſending
" letters thither, and receiving letters thence." That he gave out a great many exhibitions in Germany, and had many penſioners there. (In relation to which, there ſeemed to be a deſign carrying on, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhould ſeize ſome of theſe letters of the Archbiſhop: for

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

Gardiner told him whoſe hands they paſſed through, namely, one Fuller of Canterbury, and that if the ſaid biſhop would ſend for him, and command him upon his allegiance, he ſhould know more: or at leaſt, that he might make uſe of Fuller for a witneſs to ſerve to prove this article.) Moreover, they put in their articles, "That his Grace's ſiſter was "a milner's wife, and that ſhe and her huſband lived nine "or ten years together in Canterbury. And then that ſhe "married to one Mr. Bingham, her former huſband being "yet alive: and that Mr. Commiſſary married her daughter. "And though he were thus a married prieſt, yet he was "joined with Mr. Dean [Wotton] to be one of the proctors "of the clergy in the convocation-houſe: and not of their "election, but that it was obtained by the intereſt of his "affinity."

The witneſſes.

The chief witneſſes and perſons concerned as vouchers and informers were, Roper, Balthazar a chirurgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinſal, German Gardiner.

The prebendaries deliver the Articles

At length, after much ado, ſome of the prebendaries, in the name of the church of Canterbury, delivered into the council, not long after Eaſter, the articles ſwelled to a good quantity of paper. And ſo they came at laſt into the King's hand. Having received them, he bade Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, a Kentiſh man, being one of the privy council, and a privado in this matter, to ſend to Canterbury for ſome to prove the articles. The ſaid Chancellor orders the Dean, ignorant of the matter, to ſend to Shether and Serles to come up as ſecretly as might be to London. Being come up, Shether repairs to the
118 Dean: who bad him, with Gardiner and Parkhurſt, to go to the Chancellor, who ſent for them. Being come before him, he ſaid to them, "That the King had a book againſt "the Archbiſhop delivered to him; which he had himſelf "peruſed. And becauſe that he perceived that they could "ſay ſomewhat, wiſhing alſo for Serles, (who was not "yet come,) he told them the King willed them to ſay what "they knew, fearing no perſon, but to dread only one "God and one King." Whereupon they took the book, and drew out ſuch articles as they could witneſs of. He bad them return to Canterbury, and provide the witneſſes

there; and that Shether the youngeſt ſhould come back again, after he had perfected the book in the day and year, and to bring it with him. From him they applied again to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the great wheel, and ſhewed him what Baker had ſaid to them.

CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

CHAP. XXVII.

The King the Archbiſhop's friend in this danger.

THE King well perceiving the malice of the men, and a plot contrived againſt an honeſt and innocent man, ſtrengthened with the favour and aid of Wincheſter, and ſeveral of the counſellors, and the imminent danger the Archbiſhop was in, except he himſelf did interpoſe, it pleaſed God to turn the King's heart to him. So he put the book of articles in his ſleeve; and paſſing one evening in his barge by Lambeth-bridge, the Archbiſhop ſtanding at the ſtairs to do his duty to his Majeſty, he called him into the barge to him; and, accoſting him with theſe words, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greateſt here-"tic in Kent," communicated to him theſe matters, ſhewing him the book of articles againſt him and his chaplains, and bad him peruſe it. This both ſurpriſed and troubled the Archbiſhop not a little: that thoſe of his own church, and juſtices of the peace whom he had obliged, ſhould deal ſo treacherouſly with him. He kneeled down to the King, and, well knowing how falſe the articles were, deſired him to grant a commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed him, to try the truth of theſe accuſations, ſo as from the higheſt to the loweſt they might be well puniſhed, if they had done otherwiſe than became them. The King told him, "He "would grant a commiſſion, and that ſuch affiance and "confidence he had in his fidelity, that he ſhould be the "chief commiſſioner himſelf, to whom he would wholly "commit the examination, with two or three more ſuch as "he ſhould chooſe." When the Archbiſhop replied, that it would not ſeem indifferent to make him a commiſſioner,

The King himſelf diſcovers all to the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop deſires a commiſſion.

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

who was a party accuſed; the King told him, "That he "was ſure he would not halt with him, although he were "driven to accuſe himſelf; but would ſpeak the truth of "himſelf, if he had offended." The King added, that he knew partly how the matter came about, [namely, by Winchester's ſubtile means,] and that if he handled the matter wiſely, he ſhould find a pretty conſpiracy againſt him. The King named but one, *viz.* Dr. Belhouſe, to be in the commiſſion; and the Archbiſhop named Dr. John Cocks his
119 Vicar-general, and Anthony Huſſey his Regiſter. The commiſſion was made out of hand, and he was commanded to go himſelf into Kent upon it: and the King commanded the commiſſioners particularly, that it ſhould be ſifted out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation. Preſently every one that had meddled in this detection ſhrunk away, and gave over their hold.

The Archbiſhop in commiſſion expoſtulates with his accuſers.

The Archbiſhop came to Feverſham himſelf, and there, as it ſeems, ſat upon the commiſſion, and drew up ſome interrogatories with his own hand for ſome of theſe informers; and having ſummoned theſe accuſers before him, argued and expoſtulated meekly, and ſometimes earneſtly, with them; chiefly inſiſting upon their ingratitude and diſingenuity with him. He aſked Sentleger if he were at home on Palm-Sunday? (that was the day when the prebendaries ſigned the articles.) Sentleger ſaying, he was then at his benefice, the Archbiſhop declared the *proceſſion done that day*, as he called it; and ſaid, whether he and the reſt were preſent that day, they were all knit in a bond among them, which he would break: adding, in a paſſionate way of expreſſion, "O Mr. Sentleger, I had in you and Mr. "Parkhurſt a good judgment, and eſpecially in you; but "ye will not leave your old mumpſimus." To which Sentleger boldly replied, that he truſted they uſed no mumpſimus's but thoſe that were conſonant to the laws of God and the Prince. And with Shether, one of the buſieſt enemies the Archbiſhop had in this affair, the Archbiſhop ſo fatherly diſcourſed and argued, that Shether could not forbear weeping. He and Serles, two of the chief agents, were committed to cuſtody.

But Shether preſently diſpatcheth his ſervant to the Bi-

CHAP. XXVII.

Anno 1543.

Shether in prison sends to Winchester.

shop of Winchester, declaring how he and Serles were in durance, and recommended their case to him. Winchester went into the council-chamber, probably to try his interest with the council to get them released. But it seems he soon perceived how the King stood affected, and so there was nothing yet to be done: and therefore he told the servant, he could give him no answer as yet. A day or two after, at the servant's departing, he told him, "That his "master was a child for weeping to the Archbishop, when "he should have answered; and that he should not weep "for shame, but answer like a man; and that he should "take a good heart, for he should have friends. That he "would not forget him: but he must know of the council "first what to do; and so desired the servant to have him "recommended to the prebendaries all in general; bidding "him tell them, that my Lord of Canterbury could not kill "them, and that therefore they should bear their sufferings; "for all he did was against himself, and that he should see "what would come of it." Ford, a brother-in-law of Shether's, and a party, told the servant, "That he should tell "his brother that he should never recant; for if he did, he "would never be his friend while he lived, nor none should "that he could let; and that my Lord of Winchester should "be his friend."

Their reasons which they pretended for what they did.

But to return to the Archbishop's examination of them. When he asked them what the reason was of these their doings; they pretended one one thing, and another another. Gardiner said, that which moved him was, because he observed such jarrings among them, and so much unquietness about matters of religion; and that he thought it was by the Archbishop's sufferance: which the Archbishop convinced him was false. Shether pretended that Baker, the Chancellor of the Augmentations, had willed him to mark the chief fautors of new opinions. Willoughby desired Dr. Thornton, who was very great with the Archbishop, but secretly false to him, that he would let his Lordship know, that he never put up article against any man in his life; for that he was charged to have put up, or ready to have put up the articles. Thornton bad him stick to it, and not be afraid; for, saith he, I have spoken my mind to the council

120

BOOK I.

therein as I am bound, and ſo be you, being the King's chaplain.

Anno 1543. Cockes and Huſſey commiſſioners, and his officers falſe.

But the Archbiſhop left the further diſcovery of this miſchief to the diligence of Cockes and Huſſey his officers: this was about Auguſt. They ſat ſix weeks, ſaith my manuſcript; but, being ſecret favourers of the papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that nothing would be diſcloſed and eſpied, but every thing colourably was hid. The Archbiſhop ſecretly obſerved this; but Morice his ſecretary wrote to Dr. Butts the King's phyſician, and Sir Anthony Denny of his bedchamber, That if the King ſent not ſome others to aſſiſt the Archbiſhop than thoſe that were with him, it was not poſſible any thing ſhould come to light; wiſhing that Dr. Legh, or ſome ſuch other ſtout man, that had been exerciſed in the King's eccleſiaſtical affairs in his viſitation, might be ſent to him. And Dr. Legh was ſoon diſpatched with inſtructions from the King into Kent, with the King's ring, which he delivered to the Archbiſhop on Allhallow-even. And with Dr. Legh, Dr. Rowland Taylor, another civilian, a bold and ſtirring man, was joined; who afterwards was burnt for his conſtancy in religion.

New commiſſioners ſent down.

Theſe new commiſſioners ſtartled the delinquents; and they began to be very uneaſy, and full of anger, as well as fear. One cried, "Thank my Lord's Grace; that is a way "to have quietneſs in Kent, to have Dr. Legh there." Of Dr. Taylor they ſaid, "he was a man of an evil judgment, "and notified for, and brought up in the ſame." And another, reflecting upon theſe men, ſaid, "I would all ambi- "tious knaves were hanged; I would all maintainers of "new opinions were hanged; I would all knaves that break "orders were hanged; I would all knaves that are againſt "the commonwealth were hanged."

The Regiſter falſe.

Huſſey the Regiſter, who had the examinations of theſe men, had private conferences with them; and let Serles and Sandwich (alias Gardiner) have the copies of their accuſations, before they were to be called before Legh, that they might the better know what anſwers to make.

The delinquents' chambers and cheſts ſearched.

But to proceed, to ſee what courſe Dr. Legh took. Immediately upon his coming, according to the King's advice, he gave commiſſion to about nine or ten of the Archbiſhop's

officers and gentlemen, such as were tried men of wit and audacity, to go and search the purses, chests, and houses of certain prebendaries and gentlemen, *viz.* such as were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy, within the cathedral church and without; and what letters and writings they could find with them, to bring to the Archbishop and him. CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1543.

They all went about their work in the same hour; and, within four hours after, the whole conspiracy was discovered, by finding of letters, some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London at Oxon, and from justices of the shire. In the chambers and chests of some gentlemen of the county were found letters serving to that purpose. And among the rest there came to the Archbishop's hand two letters, one of Thornton, and the other of Dr. Barber; whom the Archbishop retained with him in household for expedition of matters in suit before him, being his officer, and as a counsellor to him in the law when need required: both promoted by him; Thornton, who was suffragan of Dover, he made prebendary of his church, and whom he always set at his own mess. The Archbishop taking them apart, shewed them their letters, and upbraided them with their falseness and ingratitude. They fell down on their knees to the Archbishop, and with many tears begged his pardon, acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done. 121 The treachery of Thornton and Barber.

The Archbishop before them, casting up his hands to heaven, applied himself to God, thanking him that he had, in the midst of so many enemies and false friends, vouchsafed him one great friend and master, meaning the King, without whose protection, as he said, he were not able to stand upright one day. He prayed God to make them good men, and bad them ask God forgiveness, seeing he had never deserved such usage at their hands. He added, that now he perceived there was no fidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought to that point, that he feared his left hand would accuse his right: but that he needed not to marvel at it, seeing Christ prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. He prayed God of his mercy to finish that time shortly: and so dismissed them with gentle The Archbishop's discourse to them. Mark xiii. 12. *The brother shall betray the brother to death, and*

BOOK I.

and comfortable words. And it was obſerved that there never after appeared, neither in his countenance nor his words, any remembrance thereof. But he thought fit no more to truſt them; and ſo diſcharged them of his ſervice. And ſo he did one Mr. Talbot, another falſe man, which was alſo of his counſel and chamber. But Dr. London took occaſion hence to ſay, that they could tell a ſhrewd tale, if they were examined; and that it was not for nought they were put out of ſervice: as though the reaſon were, that they ſhould no more have opportunity of knowing any of the Archbiſhop's doings or ſayings.

Anno 1543. *the father the ſon: and children ſhall riſe up againſt their parents, &c.*

The conſpirators are impriſoned.

All the foreſaid ſeized papers and writings were put into a cheſt, and brought up to Lambeth; the King being minded to peruſe them, and to puniſh the principals. In fine, divers of the chief of the knot were committed to priſon, where they remained till the next year, ſome more cloſely confined than others; all during the Archbiſhop's pleaſure. All that the Archbiſhop required of them was repentance and recantation, and an ingenuous confeſſion of their faults and falſeneſs to him. Abiding for ſome time under affliction, their ſpirits began to mollify; and then, by ſupplicatory letters to the Archbiſhop, they begged his pardon, made their confeſſions, and deſired their liberty.

Their releaſe.

122 About which time a parliament was at hand. Then great labour was made by their friends for a general pardon from the King, procuring him a ſubſidy, the eaſier to obtain it. Which indeed followed, and wiped away all puniſhment and correction for their fault. But without the King's indulgence they were like ſuddenly to have had their liberty by the Archbiſhop's interceſſion for them, being a man that delighted not in revenge.

The confeſſions and letters.

In the before-mentioned manuſcript volume, belonging to Benet College, whence I have extracted moſt of theſe relations, are remaining the interrogatories prepared for Dr. London, wrote by the Archbiſhop's own hand, together with the humble confeſſions and letters of Willoughby, Gardiner, Serles, Milles, Sentleger, and others concerned. Some of which I have tranſcribed into the Appendix. Gardiner's expreſſions ſeemed ſo penitent, ſtyling the Archbiſhop his father, that it made ſuch an impreſſion upon the

Numb. XXXI I.

Archbiſhop's heart, that when he ſaw him next, he told him, "Ye call me father; in good faith I will be a father to "you indeed." Yet this very man, ſo ingrateful he was, that ſoon after this kind reconciliation of the Archbiſhop to him, and (as it ſeems) his deliverance out of priſon, he and the reſt had freſh communications together again: inſomuch that the Archbiſhop was fain to enter upon a new trouble with them, putting them under reſtraint again, and interrogating them concerning their late communication. Unleſs this letter of Gardiner writ unto his Grace may admit of a more favourable interpretation. CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1543.

"MOST honourable father; unadviſedly, as God ſhall "ſave me, I have offended your Grace; and I think not the "contrary, but that ſome back friend hath done me more "hurt and hindrance than I have at your Grace's hands de- "ſerved. For I know well in mine own conſcience I have "nothing ſo highly offended, as I do perceive that your "Grace is informed of me. In good faith I ſpeak it of my "conſcience, and before God, I would I were under ground. "For now have I loſt that, which I never thought to loſe "again: yea, that of which had I was as glad as ever I was "of benefit received in this world, as knoweth my Saviour "Chriſt Jeſus: who preſerve your Grace.

"Yours, Will. Gardiner."

But while theſe things were tranſacted at Canterbury, on the Archbiſhop's behalf, againſt theſe falſe accuſers, Dr London, one of the great incendiaries, was cenſured at Windſor. For he, and one Symons a lawyer, and Ockham, that laid traps for others, were catched at length themſelves. They were men that buſied themſelves in framing indictments upon the ſix Articles, againſt great numbers of thoſe that favoured or profeſſed the Goſpel, and in ſending them to court to Wincheſter; who was to prefer the complaints to the council. The King being more and more informed of their baſe conſpiracies, and diſliking their bloody diſpoſitions, commanded the council ſhould ſearch into the matters. And ſo London and his fellows, being examined before the 123 ſaid council, were in the end found to be perjured in deny- The ends of the conſpirators.

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

ing, upon their oaths, what they had indeed done, and was proved manifeſtly to their faces. Hereupon they were adjudged perjured perſons, and appointed to ride through Windſor, Reading, and Newbery, where they had done moſt miſchief, with their faces towards the horſe-tail, and a paper upon their heads, declaring their crime; and to ſtand upon the pillory in each of thoſe towns. And that puniſhment they underwent, and then were ſent to the Fleet. London not long after died there, probably out of ſhame and ſorrow: this was the end of one of theſe conſpirators. German Gardiner was a year after hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the King's ſupremacy. And the Biſhop of Winchefter after this never had favour or regard of the King more. And Heywood, another of the crew of the informers and witneſſes, was condemned for treaſon with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was ſpared.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Archbiſhop falls into more Troubles.

AFTER this, the Archbiſhop received two terrible ſhocks more, if I am right in the placing them, as I think I am, though I leave Fox to follow Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, in his manuſcript declaration of the ſaid Archbiſhop. The former was a complaint that was made openly againſt him in parliament; and the latter, when the lords of the privy-council accuſed him unto the King, and required that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower.

The Archbiſhop accuſed before the Parliament. MS. Declaration of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Sir John Goſtwick, a knight for Bedfordſhire, a man of great ſervice in his time, but papiſtical, ſtood up in the houſe, and laid to his charge his ſermons and lectures, both at Sandwich and Canterbury, containing, as he ſaid, manifeſt hereſy againſt the ſacrament of the altar. Though it was much they ſhould accuſe him in that point, ſeeing he then held a corporal preſence; but it diſpleaſed them that it was after the Lutheran way, rather than after theirs of tranſubſtantiation. But the King perceived eaſily this pro-

ceeded of malice, for that he was a ſtranger in Kent, and had neither heard the Archbiſhop preach nor read there. Knowing thereby that he was ſet on, and made an inſtrument to ſerve other men's purpoſes; the King marvelloufly ſtormed at the matter, calling Goſtwick openly *varlet*, and ſaid, "That he had played a villainous part, to abuſe in "open parliament the Primate of the realm, eſpecially "being in favour with his Prince as he was. What will they "do with him," ſaid he, "if I were gone?" Whereupon the King ſent word unto Goſtwick, by one of his privy-chamber, after this ſort; "Tell the varlet Goſtwick, that "if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my Lord of Can-"terbury, and ſo reconcile himſelf towards him that he "may become his good lord, I will ſoon both make him a "poor Goſtwick, and otherwiſe puniſh him, to the example "of others. He wondered," he ſaid, "he could hear my Lord "of Canterbury preaching out of Kent: and that if he 124
"had been a Kentiſh-man, he might have had ſome more "ſhadow to put up an accuſation againſt him." Now Goſtwick, hearing of this grievous threat, came with all poſſible ſpeed unto Lambeth, and there ſubmitted himſelf in ſuch ſorrowful caſe, that my Lord out of hand not only forgave all his offences, but alſo went directly unto the King for the obtaining of the King's favour; which he obtained very hardly, and upon condition that the King might hear no more of his meddling that way. This happened, I ſuppoſe, in the parliament that began in January, and continued till March 29, 1544. The Archbiſhop's palace at Canterbury was this year burnt, and therein his brother-in-law, and other men, according to Stow.

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1543.

The palace of Canterbury burnt.

I find no biſhops conſecrated in this year.

At length the confederacy of the papiſts in the privy-council (whereof I ſuſpect the Duke of Norfolk to be one, a great friend of Wincheſter's, by whoſe inſtigation this deſign was ſet on foot) came and accuſed him moſt grievouſly unto the King; "That he, with his learned men, had ſo "infected the whole realm with their unſavoury doctrine, "that three parts of the land were become abominable "heretics: and that it might prove dangerous to the King,

Anno 1544. The council accuſe the Archbiſhop.

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

"being like to produce ſuch commotions and uproars as "were ſprung up in Germany. And therefore they deſired, "that the Archbiſhop might be committed unto the Tower, "until he might be examined." The King was very ſtrait in granting this. They told him, "That the Archbiſhop "being one of the privy-council, no man dared to object "matter againſt him, unleſs he were firſt committed to du- "rance: which being done, men would be bold to tell "the truth, and ſay their conſciences." Upon this perſua- ſion of theirs, the King granted unto them that they ſhould call him the next day before them, and, as they ſaw cauſe, ſo to commit him to the Tower.

The King ſends privately for the Archbiſhop.

At midnight, about eleven of the clock, before the day he ſhould appear before the council, the King ſent Mr. Denny to my Lord at Lambeth, willing him incontinently to come over to Weſtminſter to him. The Archbiſhop was in bed, but roſe ſtraightway and repaired to the King, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Being come, the King declared unto him what he had done, in giving liberty to the council to commit him to priſon: for that they bare him in hand, that he and his learned men had ſown ſuch doctrine in the realm, that all men almoſt were infected with hereſy; and that no man durſt bring matter againſt him, being at liberty, and one of the council. And there- fore I have granted to their requeſt, ſaid the King; but whe- ther I have done well or no, what ſay you, my Lord? The Archbiſhop firſt humbly thanked the King that it had pleaſed him to give him that warning before-hand: and that he was very well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, ſo that he might be indifferently heard; as he doubted not but that his Majeſty would ſee him ſo to be uſed. Whereat the King cried out, "O Lord "God, what fond ſimplicity have you, ſo to permit yourſelf
125 "to be impriſoned, that every enemy of yours may take "advantage againſt you! Do not you know, that when "they have you once in priſon, three or four falſe knaves "will ſoon be procured to witneſs againſt you, and con- "demn you; which elſe, now being at liberty, dare not "once open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not "ſo, my Lord," ſaid the King, "I have better regard unto

" you than to permit your enemies ſo to overthrow you: CHAP.
" and therefore I will have you to-morrow come to the XXVIII.
" council, which no doubt will ſend for you: and, when Anno 1544.
" they break this matter unto you, require them, that, being
" one of them, you may have ſo much favour as they would
" have themſelves; that is, to have your accuſers brought
" before you. And if they ſtand with you, without regard
" of your allegations, and will in no condition condeſcend
" unto your requeſt, but will needs commit you to the
" Tower, then appeal you from them to our perſon, and
" give to them this my ring; (which he then delivered unto
" the Archbiſhop;) by the which," ſaid the King, " they ſhall
" well underſtand that I have taken your cauſe into my
" hand from them. Which ring they well know, that I uſe
" it for no other purpoſe, but to call matters from the coun-
" cil into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined."
And with this good advice Cranmer, after moſt humble
thanks, departed from the King's Majeſty.

The next morning, according to the King's monition, and Comes be-
his own expectation, the council ſent for him by eight of fore the council.
the clock in the morning. And when he came to the coun-
cil-chamber-door, he was not permitted to enter into the
council-chamber, but ſtood without among ſerving-men and
lacquies above three quarters of an hour; many counſellors
and others going in and out. The matter ſeemed ſtrange
unto his ſecretary, who then attended upon him; which
made him ſlip away to Dr. Butts, to whom he related the
manner of the thing: who by and by came, and kept my
Lord company. And yet, ere he was called into the coun-
cil, Dr. Butts went to the King, and told him, that he had
ſeen a ſtrange ſight. What is that? ſaid the King. Marry,
ſaid he, my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a
ſerving-man: for to my knowledge he hath ſtood among
them this hour almoſt at the council-chamber-door. Have
they ſerved my Lord ſo? " It is well enough," ſaid the King;
" I ſhall talk with them by and by." Anon Cranmer was
called into the council; there it was declared unto him, that
a great complaint was made of him, both to the King and
to them, That he, and others by his permiſſion, had infected
the whole realm with hereſy: and therefore it was the

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

King's pleaſure that they ſhould commit him to the Tower, and there for his trial, to be examined. Cranmer required, as is before declared, with many, both reaſons and perſuaſions, that he might have his accuſers come there before them, before they uſed any further extremity againſt him. In fine, there was no entreaty could ſerve, but that he muſt needs depart to the Tower. "I am ſorry, my Lords," ſaid Cranmer, "that you drive me unto this exigent, to appeal "from you to the King's Majeſty; who by this token hath "reſumed this matter into his own hand, and diſchargeth
126 "you thereof:" and ſo delivered the King's ring unto them. By and by the Lord Ruſſel ſwore a great oath, and ſaid, "Did not I tell you, my Lords, what would come of "this matter? I know right well that the King would "never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have ſuch a ble- "miſh as to be impriſoned, unleſs it were for high-trea- "ſon." And ſo, as the manner was, when they had once received that ring, they left off their matter, and went all unto the King's perſon, both with his token, and the cauſe.

The King rebukes the council for Cranmer.

When they came unto his Highneſs, the King ſaid unto them, "Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a diſcreet "and wiſe council; but now I perceive that I am deceived. "How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? "What make ye of him? A ſlave? ſhutting him out of "the council-chamber among ſerving-men. Would ye be "ſo handled yourſelves?" And after ſuch taunting words as theſe ſpoken, the King added, "I would you ſhould well "underſtand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as "faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this "realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by "the faith I owe unto God;" and ſo laid his hand upon his breaſt. "And therefore who loveth me," ſaid he, "will "upon that account regard him." And with theſe words all, and eſpecially my Lord of Norfolk, anſwered and ſaid, "We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canter- "bury, that we requeſted to have him in durance: which "we only did, becauſe he might, after his trial, be ſet at "liberty to his greater glory." "Well," ſaid the King, "I "pray you uſe not my friends ſo. I perceive now well "enough how the world goeth among you. There re-

"maineth malice among you one to another; let it be "avoided out of hand, I would adviſe you." And ſo the King departed, and the Lords ſhook hands every man with the Archbiſhop: againſt whom never more after durſt any man ſpurn, during King Henry's life. And becauſe the King would have love always nouriſhed between the lords of the council and the Archbiſhop, he would ſend them divers times to dinner with him. And ſo he did after this reconciliation. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1544.

Thus did the King interpoſe himſelf divers times between his Archbiſhop and his irreconcileable enemies the papiſts: and obſerving, by theſe eſſays againſt him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time it was, as I conjecture, that the King changed his coat of arms[c]. For unto the year 1543, he bore his paternal coat of three cranes ſable, as I find by a date ſet under his arms, yet remaining in a window in Lambeth-houſe. For it is to be noted, that the King, perceiving how much ado Cranmer would have in the defence of his religion, altered the three cranes, which were parcel of his anceſtors' arms, into three pelicans, declaring unto him, "That thoſe birds ſhould ſignify unto him, that he ought "to be ready, as the pelican is, to ſhed his blood for his "young ones, brought up in the faith of Chriſt. For," ſaid the King, "you are like to be taſted, if you ſtand to your "tackling at length." As in very deed many and ſundry times he was ſhouldered at, both in this King's reign, as you have heard, and under the two ſucceeding Princes. The King changes the Archbiſhop's arms.

CHAP. XXIX. 127

Occaſional Prayers and Suffrages.

OCCASIONAL prayers and ſuffrages, to be uſed throughout all churches, began now to be more uſual than formerly.

[c] Whereas it was conjectured there, that the King changed Archbiſhop Cranmer's coat of arms about 1544, it muſt have been ſeveral years before: for his new coat of the Pelicans may be ſeen in the frontiſpiece of the

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

For theſe common devotions were twice this year appointed by authority, as they had been once the laſt; which I look upon the Archbiſhop to be the great inſtrument in procuring: that he might by this means, by little and little, bring into uſe prayer in the Engliſh tongue, which he ſo much deſired: and that the people, by underſtanding part of their prayers, might be the more deſirous to have their whole ſervice rendered intelligible; whereby God might be ſerved with the more ſerioufneſs and true devotion.

Prayers to be made againſt immoderate rain.

The laſt year there was a plentiful crop upon the ground: but when the time of harveſt drew near, there happened a great plague of rain. So in Auguſt letters were iſſued out from the King to the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould appoint certain prayers to be uſed for the ceaſing of the wet weather; and to write to the reſt of the province to do the like. But hear the King's letter.

Cranm. Regiſt.

"Moſt reverend father in God, right truſty, and right "entirely beloved, we greet you well. And foraſmuch "as there hath been now a late, and ſtill continueth, much "rain, and other unſeaſonable weather, whereby is like to "enſue great hurt and damage to the corn and fruits now "ripe upon the ground, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God, of his "infinite goodneſs, to ſtretch forth his holy hand over us: "conſidering, by ſundry examples heretofore, that God, "at the contemplation of earneſt and devout prayers, often-"times extended his mercy and grace; and hath alſo "aſſuredly promiſed, that whenſoever we call upon him "for things meet for us, he will grant unto us the ſame: "we, having the governance and charge of his people com-"mitted unto us, have thought good to cauſe the ſame "to be exhorted by you, and other the prelates of this "our realm, with an earneſt repentant heart for their ini-"quities, to call unto God for mercy; and with devout "and humble prayer and ſupplication, every perſon, both "by himſelf apart, and alſo by Common Prayer, to beſeech "him to ſend unto us ſuch ſeaſonable and temperate weather,

great Engliſh Bible, printed 1540. And how long before that time, I know not. [*From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*]

" to have in thoſe fruits and corn on the ground, which " hitherto he hath cauſed ſo plenteouſly to grow. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1544.

" For the which purpoſe we require you, and nevertheleſs " command you, to ſend unto all your brethren, the bi- " ſhops within your province, to cauſe ſuch general roga- " tions and proceſſions to be made incontinently within " their dioceſes, as in caſe like heretofore hath been ac- " cuſtomed in this behalf accordingly.

" Yevon under our ſignet, at our manor of the Moor, the " 20th day of Auguſt, the xxxv year of our reign."

The Archbiſhop accordingly ſent his order, dated Auguſt 23, 1543, to Edmond Biſhop of London, that there might be prayers and ſupplications in his dioceſe every fourth and ſixth days of the week. And the like order was diſpatched to all the other biſhops in his province; " by their prayers, " as was accuſtomed, to implore God's mercy to avert his " wrath, that the people had juſtly deſerved. And not " to ceaſe their prayers and ſuffrages till further order from " him." 128

It is not ſo evident that theſe prayers were in the Engliſh tongue: but in the year following, *viz.* 1544, there were, without controverſy, certain ſuffrages drawn up in our mother-tongue by the Archbiſhop's means; which he intended to be univerſally obſerved every-where. Upon the Archbiſhop's pious motions, as it ſeems, the King iſſued out his letters to him, dated in June, for the publication of theſe prayers in Engliſh, to be from thenceforth continually uſed in the church; together with ſetting forth the King's injunctions, by preaching and good exhortation, that the people, who before did but ſlackly obſerve their devotions, for want of underſtanding the divine ſervice, might henceforth more frequently and more fervently reſort to religious worſhip. Engliſh ſuffrages commanded to be uſed.

I ſhall not here ſet down the King's letter, as I tranſcribed it out of Archbiſhop Cranmer's regiſter, becauſe Biſhop Burnet hath printed it already in his firſt volume, among the Collections, pag. 264. It runs in ſuch a pious ſtrain, as though none but the Archbiſhop had been the ſuggeſter thereof: " That ſince at that time Chriſtendom was plagued The contents of the King's letter to that intent. Cranm. Regiſt. fol. 49.

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

"with wars, hatred, and diſſenſions, and in no place was "peace and agreement: and ſince it was out of the power "of man to redreſs theſe miſeries, God alone being able "to reſtore peace, and unite men's hearts; therefore the "King was reſolved to have general proceſſions uſed in all "churches, with all reverence and devotion of the people. "And becauſe the not underſtanding the prayers and ſuf- "frages formerly uſed cauſed that the people came but "ſlackly to the proceſſions; therefore the King now had "publiſhed certain prayers in our native tongue: which "he, with his preſent letter, had ſent to the Archbiſhop, for "the ſpecial truſt and confidence he had of his godly "mind, and the earneſt deſire that was in him for the "ſetting forth of God's glory, and the true worſhipping "of his name. And that theſe prayers ſhould not be ob- "ſerved for a month or two, as his other injunctions had "been, but that they, together with the injunctions, ſhould "be carneſtly ſet forth by preaching, good exhortation, and "otherwiſe; in ſuch ſort as they might feel the godly taſte "thereof, and godly and joyouſly with thanks receive, em- "brace, and frequent the ſame. Commanding the Archbi- "ſhop, that he ſhould not only cauſe the ſame ſuffrages "to be uſed in his own dioceſe, but ſignify the King's "pleaſure in this regard to all other biſhops of his province. "And that he ſhould have a ſpecial reſpect hereunto; and "make report if any did not with good dexterity accom- "pliſh the ſame. It was given under the King's ſignet, "at his manor of St. James's, June 11, in the 36th of his "reign." I have not met with theſe ſuffrages; which if I had, I ſhould have been inclined to publiſh them here; and the rather, becauſe I believe they were of Cranmer's own compoſing. 129

According to this letter, the Archbiſhop diſperſed his letters to Edmond Biſhop of London, and the other biſhops, with a copy of the ſuffrages to be uſed: urging withal, the obſervation of all the King's injunctions heretofore promulgated for the confirming and eſtabliſhing of ſacred religion.

A proceſſion for the King's expedition.

About Auguſt this year, the King was upon going himſelf in perſon to invade France, againſt which nation he was

now in hoſtility; and had prepared a mighty army by land and ſea for that purpoſe. Now the Archbiſhop was again called upon by the privy counſellors to appoint proceſſions in the Engliſh tongue through the realm, for the King's good ſucceſs in this great expedition. The council's letter ran in this tenor. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1544.

The council's letter to the Archbiſhop. Regiſt. Cranm.

"After our right-hearty commendations to your good "Lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to ſignify to the ſame, that the "King's Highneſs having ſo provided for the ſafety of his "Grace's realm, as the great malice of his enemies ſhall, "by the grace of God, take ſmall effect: for the repulſing "of which, his Highneſs hath in a readineſs to ſet abroad, "at the furtheſt on Wedneſday next, ſuch a puiſſant navy "as hath not been ſeen aſſembled in the remembrance of "man: conſidering nevertheleſs that all victories and good "ſucceſſes come only at the direction and appointment of "God, following herein that trade of ſuch a chriſtian Prince, "as he is, hath deviſed to have proceſſions throughout the "realm in ſuch ſort as in like caſes hath heretofore laudably "been accuſtomed. Requiring your Lordſhip therefore to "take order incontinently, that from henceforth, through "your province, the ſaid proceſſions be kept continually "upon the accuſtomed days, and none otherwiſe; and ſung "or ſaid, as the number of the quoir ſhall ſerve for the "ſame, in the Engliſh tongue; to the intent that there "may be an uniformity in every place. Whereby it may "pleaſe God at all times to proſper his Majeſty in all his "affairs: and the rather, to have regard at this time unto "the uprightneſs of his Grace's quarrel, and to ſend his "Highneſs victorious ſucceſs of the ſame. And thus we "bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From Pet-"worth, the 10th day of Auguſt.

"Your Lordſhip's aſſured loving friends,

"W. Eſſex, St. Wynton, Ant. Brown, Will. Paget."

The copy of this letter the Archbiſhop diſpatched to the Biſhop of London; and, in a letter of his own, he firſt ſtirred him up to take care of making due proviſions for the religious performance of theſe prayers in his dioceſe, upon

BOOK I. Anno 1541.

consideration of the King's great wars by land and sea, and his wars in France, in Scotland, and in the parts about Bulloign. Then he enjoined him, and all the bishops in his province, every fourth and sixth day, to retire to prayer and supplication to God; and that the people should, as
130 he wrote, *Concinna modulatione et una voce cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth, omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, sancte et pie, non labiis, sed corde puro adorent:* "In becoming har-"mony, and with one voice, holily and piously, not with "the lips, but with a pure heart, adore the almighty God "of Sabaoth, the only giver of all victory."

Popery prevails.

And in these smaller matters our Archbishop was fain now to be contented to busy himself, since about this juncture Winton or his party had the ascendant, and did all at court. Concerning these latter times of King Henry, when the popish bishops carried all before them again; and the acts of parliament that were made, whereby the bishops were empowered to call sessions as oft as they would, to try those that gave not due obedience to the superstitions of the church, and that upon pain of treason: thus John Bale complains, whose words may give us some light into the sad condition of these times. "Still remaineth there foul-"masses, of all abominations the principal; their prodigious "sacrifices, their censings of idols, their boyish processions, "their uncommanded worshippings, and their confessions "in the ear, of all traitery the fountain; with many other "strange observations, which the Scripture of God knoweth "not. Nothing is brought as yet to Christ's clear institu-"tion and sincere ordinance, but all remaineth still as the "antichrists left it. Nothing is tried by God's word, but "by the ancient authority of fathers. Now passeth all "under their title. Though the old bishops of Rome were "of late years proved antichrists, and their names razed "out of our books; yet must they thus properly, for old "acquaintance, be called still our fathers. If it were naught "afore, I think it is now much worse; for now are they "become laudable ceremonies, whereas beforetime they "were but ceremonies alone. Now are they become *neces-"sary rites, godly constitutions, seemly usages*, and *civil or-"dinances*, whereas afore they had no such names. And he

Image of both churches.

"that disobeyeth them shall not only be judged a felon, "and worthy to be hanged, by their new-forged laws, but "also condemned for a traitor against the King, though he "never in his life hindered, but rather to his power hath "forwarded, the common wealth. To put this, with such-"like, in execution, the bishops have authority, every month "in the year if they list, to call a session, to hang and burn "at their pleasure. And this is ratified and confirmed by "act of parliament, to stand the more in effect."

Gardiner and the bishops now carry all.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, had, by his policy and interest, brought things thus backward again, and exalted the power of the bishops, that of late years had been much eclipsed. And so he plainly told one Seton, a man of eminency in these times both for piety and learning in London, who met with troubles there, about the year 1541, for a sermon preached at St. Anthony's against justification by works. This Seton being now it seems fallen into new troubles, and brought before the aforesaid bishop; when he was able no longer to withstand the manifest truth, said to him, "Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and "plenteously endued with knowledge in the Scriptures; yet "think not that ye shall overcome us. No, no, set your "heart at rest, and look never to have it said, that ye have 131 "overcome the bishops: for it shall not be so."

Bishop of Landaff removed to York.

Robert Holgate, Bishop of Landaff, was this year preferred to the see of York. His confirmation is mentioned in the Archbishop of Canterbury's register: wherein is set down an oath, which he then took, of renunciation of the Pope, and acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, very full and large. Afterwards I find the same oath administered to Kitchin, elect of Landaff, and Ridley, elect of Rochester, and Farrar, of St. David's. But I think it not unworthy to be here set down as I find it, seeming to be a new form drawn up, to be henceforth taken by all bishops. And this Archbishop of York the first that took it.

The Archbishop's oath. Cranm. Regist.

"I Robert Archbishop of York elect, having now the vail "of darkness of the usurped power, authority, and jurisdic-"tion of the see and Bishop of Rome, clearly taken away "from mine eyes, do utterly testify and declare in my con-

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

"science, that neither the see nor the Bishop of Rome, nor "any foreign potestate, hath, nor ought to have, any juris- "diction, power, or authority within this realm, neither by "God's law, nor by any just law or means. And though, "by sufferance and abusions in time past, they aforesaid "have usurped and vindicated a feigned and unlawful power "and jurisdiction within this realm, which hath been sup- "ported till few years past; therefore, because it might be "deemed and thought thereby that I took or take it for "just and good, I therefore do now clearly and frankly "renounce, forsake, refuse, and relinquish that pretended "authority, power, and jurisdiction, both of the see and "Bishop of Rome, and of all other foreign powers: and "that I shall never consent or agree that the foresaid see "or Bishop of Rome, or any of their successors, shall prac- "tise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, "or power within this realm, or any other the King's "realms or dominions; nor any foreign potestate, of what "state, degree, or condition he be; but that I shall resist "the same to the uttermost of my power; and that I shall "bear faith, troth, and true allegiance to the King's Majesty, "and to his heirs and successors declared, or hereafter to "be declared, by the authority of the act made in the "sessions of his parliament holden at Westminster the "14th day of January, in the 35th year, and in the act "made in the 28th year of the King's Majesty's reign. And "that I shall accept, repute, and take the King's Majesty, "his heirs and successors, when they, or any of them, shall "enjoy his place, to be the only supreme head in earth, "under God, of the Church of England and Ireland, and "all other his Highness' dominions. And that with my "body, cunning, wit, and uttermost of my power, without "guile, fraud, or other undue means, I shall observe, keep, "maintain and defend all the King's Majesty's styles, titles, "and rights, with the whole effects and contents of the "acts provided for the same, and all other acts and statutes "made and to be made within the realm, in and for that "purpose, and the derogation, extirpation, and extinguish- "ment of the usurped and pretended authority, power, and
132 "jurisdiction of the see and Bishop of Rome, and all other

" foreign poteſtates as afore. And alſo as well his ſtatute made in the ſaid 28th year, as his ſtatute made in the parliament holden in the 35th year of the King's Majeſty's reign, for eſtabliſhment and declaration of his Highneſs' ſucceſſion, and all acts and ſtatutes made and to be made in confirmation and corroboration of the King's Majeſty's power and ſupremacy in earth, of his Church of England and of Ireland, and all other his Grace's dominions; I ſhall alſo defend and maintain, with my body and goods, with all my wit and power. And thus I ſhall do againſt all manner of perſons, of what ſtate, dignity, degree, or condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe do nor attempt, nor to my power ſuffer, or know to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things privily or apertly to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation of any of the ſaid ſtatutes, or any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for or by any manner of pretence. And in caſe any oath hath been made by me to any perſon or perſons in maintenance, defence, or favour of the Biſhop of Rome, or his authority, juriſdiction, or power, or againſt any the ſtatutes aforeſaid, I repute the ſame as vain and adnichilate. I ſhall wholly obſerve and keep this oath. So help me God, and all ſaints, and the holy Evangeles." CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1544.

And then, after this oath, followed the prayers before the benediction of the pall, and the ceremonies of delivering it.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbiſhop reformeth the Canon Law.

OUR Archbiſhop, ſeeing the great evil and inconvenience of canons and papal laws which were ſtill in force, and ſtudied much in the kingdom, had in his mind now a good while to get them ſuppreſſed, or to reduce them into a narrower compaſs, and to cull out of them a ſet of juſt and wholeſome laws, that ſhould ſerve for the government of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. And indeed there was great need Anno 1545. The Archbiſhop ſets upon reforming the canon law.

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

of ſome reformation of theſe laws: for moſt of them extolled the Pope unmeaſurably, and made his power to be above that of Emperors and Kings. Some of them were, "That he "that acknowledged not himſelf to be under the Biſhop "of Rome, and that the Pope is ordained of God to have "the primacy over the world, is an heretic. That Princes' "laws, if they be againſt the canons and decrees of the Biſhop "of Rome, be of no force. That all the decrees of the Bi-"ſhop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually, as God's word "ſpoken by the mouth of Peter. That all kings, biſhops, "and noblemen, that believe or ſuffer the Biſhop of Rome's "decrees in any thing to be violated, are accurſed." That the ſee of Rome hath neither ſpot nor wrinkle: and abundance of the like, which the Archbiſhop himſelf drew out of the canon laws, and are ſet down by the Biſhop of Sarum in his hiſtory.

Part i. Among the Collections, p. 257.

133 Therefore, by the Archbiſhop's motion and advice, the King had an act paſſed the laſt year, *viz.* 1544, "That his "Majeſty ſhould have authority, during his life, to name "thirty-two perſons; that is to ſay, ſixteen ſpiritual, and "ſixteen temporal, to examine all canons, conſtitutions, and "ordinances, provincial and ſynodal, and to draw up ſuch "laws eccleſiaſtical as ſhould be thought by the King and "them convenient to be uſed in all ſpiritual courts." According to this act, though it ſeems this nomination happened ſome time before the making of the ſame, the King nominated ſeveral perſons to ſtudy and prepare a ſcheme of good laws for the church: who brought their buſineſs to a concluſion, and ſo it reſted for a time. The Archbiſhop being now to go down into Kent, to meet ſome commiſſioners at Sittingborn, went to Hampton-court to take his leave of the King: there he put him in mind of theſe eccleſiaſtical laws, and urged him to ratify them. So the King bad him diſpatch to him the names of the perſons, (which had been chiefly left to Cranmer's election,) and the book they had made. This care he, going out of town, left with Heth, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

An act concerning it.

The progreſs made by the Archbiſhop in this work.

So that theſe laws, by the great pains of the Archbiſhop and ſome learned men about him, were brought to that good perfection, that they wanted nothing but the confirma-

tion of the King. And there was a letter drawn up ready for that purpose for the King to sign. It was directed to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, clerks, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and all others, of whatsoever degree, his subjects and liegemen: giving them to understand, "That in the room of the corrupt laws, "decrees, and statutes, that proceeded from the Bishops of "Rome, which were all abolished, he had put forth by his "authority another set of ecclesiastical laws, which he re-"quired to be observed, under pain of his indignation." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix. But whatsoever the matter was, whether it were the King's other business, or the secret oppositions of Bishop Gardiner and the papists, this letter was not signed by the King. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1545. Num. XXXIV.

I have seen the digest of these ecclesiastical laws in a manuscript in folio, fairly written out by the Archbishop's secretary, with the title to each chapter prefixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of the Archbishop's own hand. In many places there be his own corrections and additions, and sometimes a cross by him struck through divers lines. And so he proceeded a good way in the book. And where the Archbishop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to revise the rest in the method he had begun. And in the title, *De Præscriptionibus*, the greatest part of the seventh chapter is Martyr's own writing, *viz.* beginning at this word *Rumpitur*, which is in pag. 248. of the printed book, line 23, and so to the end of the chapter. So that this manuscript, I conjecture, was the first draught of these laws, prepared in the reign of King Henry, and revised in the reign of King Edward his successor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that King's letters to be one of those that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the Archbishop. In this draught were several chapters afterwards added, partly by Cranmer, and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter and more perfect draught of these laws, as they were completed and finished in King Edward's reign. This draught fell into the possession of Archbishop Parker: from whence he published the book in the year 1571, intituling it, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, &c.* which was printed The MSS. of these laws. Inter Fox. MSS. *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiast.* Lond. 1640. 134

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

again in the year 1640. Both theſe manuſcript draughts were diligently compared together by John Fox; and the main difference ſeemed to conſiſt in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently.

The Archbiſhop labours in this work under King Edward.

For in this matter Cranmer was much buſied in King Edward's reign alſo, being greatly deſirous to bring that good work to perfection. For he thought it greatly inconvenient, when the Pope's power was abrogated, that his laws ſhould remain in force; holding it highly neceſſary that the nation might have a body of wholeſome laws for the good adminiſtration of juſtice in the ſpiritual courts. Wherefore he procured, in the fifth year of that King, letters commiſſional to him, and ſeven more, diligently to ſet about the peruſal of the old church laws; and then to compile ſuch a body of laws as ſhould ſeem, in their judgments, moſt expedient to be practiſed in the eccleſiaſtical courts and juriſdictions: theſe ſeven were, Thomas Goodrick, Biſhop of Ely; Richard Cox, the King's Almoner; Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Taylour, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. But the matter was in effect wholly intruſted by the King to the Archbiſhop, who aſſociated to himſelf in the active part of this work Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon. The method they obſerved in managing this affair was, that after they had finiſhed a title, and drawn it up, it was then ſent to Dr. Haddon, who was a civilian, and an accurate latiniſt, to peruſe: and if any thing was leſs elegantly expreſſed, to correct it. So I find at the title *De Decimis*, theſe words writ by Cranmer; "This is finiſhed by us, but "muſt be overſeen again by Dr. Haddon." Thus, for inſtance, I obſerve theſe corrections by Haddon's pen in the chapter entitled, *De Commodis quæ perveniunt a Sacris ritibus*; inſtead of *Gratiarum actionis mulierum a partu*, he corrected it, *Levatarum puerperarum:* and in another place, *Cuicunque hoc Prærogativum eſt*, inſtead of *hoc Prærogativum*, he put, *hoc peculiare jus tribuitur, quod Prærogativum vocant.* But his corrections are very few, and but of words leſs proper: the work and words were mainly Cranmer's own. But all this great and long labour of the Archbiſhop came to no effect by reaſon of the King's untimely death, and, it may be, the ſecret oppoſition of papiſts.

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1545.

At the ſame time that he, being at Hampton Court, dealt with the King concerning the reformation of the canon laws, he alſo gave him an account of a buſineſs his Majeſty had employed him in, and with him alſo Heth and Day, Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and ſome other of his chaplains, and learned men; whom he had of late appointed, with the Archbiſhop, to peruſe certain books of ſervice, delivered by the King to them, wherein there were many ſuperſtitions fit to be amended. Which the Archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, at this time acquainted the King with: as namely, the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-night; and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting the vail that covereth the croſs on Palm-Sunday, and kneeling to the croſs at the ſame time. He moved the King in his own name, and the name of the reſt, that theſe things might be aboliſhed, and the ſuperſtitious, and other enormities and abuſes of the ſame. And that becauſe all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly uſed; yet for the manifold ſuperſtitions and abuſes, which did after grow by means of the ſame, were many years paſt taken away throughout Chriſtendom, and there remained nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, ſaving only upon Allhallow-day at night, he moved that it might be obſerved no more. And becauſe creeping to the croſs was a greater abuſe than any of the other, (for there the people ſaid, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine:* and the ordinal ſaith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus:* and it followeth in the ſaid ordinal, *Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur:* which by the Biſhop's book, intituled, *A neceſſary Inſtruction*, is againſt the ſecond commandment,) therefore he deſired of the King, that the creeping to the croſs might alſo ceaſe hereafter. 135

The Biſhop employed in mending books of ſervice.

The King conſults with the Archbiſhop for the redreſs of certain ſuperſtitions.

Theſe ſuperſtitious uſages were allowed in the articles of religion put forth anno 1536, Cranmer then not having intereſt enough to procure the laying them aſide, or thinking it then not a fitting ſeaſon to attempt it, as being in vain to oppoſe what the King himſelf at that time approved of. But now the King liſtened to the Archbiſhop, and had him confer with the Biſhop of Worceſter, and ſend to him

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

their thoughts, what courſe they would adviſe him to take for redreſs. The Archbiſhop accordingly conſulted with the ſaid Biſhop, who then went along with Cranmer in the reformation. The effect of which was, as the Archbiſhop wrote to the King ſoon after from Bekeſbourn, "That his "Majeſty ſhould ſend his letters to both the Archbiſhops to "reform theſe ſuperſtitions; and they to ſend in the King's "name to all the prelates within their reſpective provinces "to the ſame purpoſe." The Archbiſhop withal ſent to the King the minutes of a letter to be ſent to him, the ſaid Archbiſhop, to that intent. He alſo adviſed the King, that at the ſame time that this alteration was commanded to be made, he ſhould ſet forth ſome doctrine which ſhould declare the cauſe of the aboliſhing theſe uſages, for the ſatisfaction of the conſciences of the people. For he knew well, as he wrote, that the people would think the honour of Chriſt was taken away, when this honouring of the croſs was taken away: and therefore that they ſhould need ſome good inſtruction herein. He nominated the Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and ſome other his Grace's chaplains, for the preparing this: "and this," he ſaid, "would "make the people obey him without murmuring; nay, "be thankful to him for ſhewing them the truth: and it "would be a ſatisfaction to other nations, when they ſhould "ſee the King do nothing but by the authority of God's "word, and for the ſetting forth of God's honour, and not "the diminiſhing thereof." This letter of the Archbiſhop to the King is extant in the Paper-office, whence the Biſhop of Sarum extracted a copy.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 205.

136 The opportunity of Winchester's abſence taken.

Theſe things were agitated in the Biſhop of Winchester's abſence, whom the King had ſent ambaſſador this year, with the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, to Charles the Emperor, about the mediation of a peace between England and France. The Archbiſhop took this occaſion to move the King in theſe good purpoſes for a further reformation of abuſes in religion; towards the which the King appeared to be in ſo good a mind, Winchester being abſent, who, if he had been at home, would undoubtedly have done his endeavour to put a check to theſe attempts. But it muſt be attributed to his being abroad, that the King gave an ear to the Archbi-

CHAP. XXX. Anno 1545.

ſhop, and appointed a ſet of more moderate biſhops and divines to prepare matter for his allowance and ratification. But Wincheſter, though at a diſtance, had information of theſe deſigns by his intelligencers; and by making the King believe that, if he ſuffered any innovations in religion to proceed, the Emperor would withdraw his mediation for a league; by theſe crafty means of this man, theſe good motions proceeded no further.

The Archbiſhop prevails with the King in two great points.

So that there were two abuſes in religion which our Archbiſhop, by time and ſeaſonable inculcation, brought the King off from. He had a very great eſteem for images in churches, and for the worſhip uſed to the croſs: and many diſputations and diſcourſes happened between the King and the Archbiſhop concerning them. Once at the King's palace at Newhal in Eſſex, Canterbury and Wincheſter being alone with the King, a talk happened about images, and the arguments that were uſed for aboliſhing them were conſidered. The Archbiſhop, who built all his arguments upon the word of God, produced the ſecond commandment, and thence he raiſed his argument. But the King diſcuſſed it as a commandment relating only to the Jews, and not to us; as Wincheſter relates in one of his letters to the Duke of Somerſet; adding, (becauſe the reaſoning was ſo much to his own mind,) "That the King ſo diſcuſſed it, "that all the clerks in Chriſtendom could not amend it." And when, at another time, one had uſed arguments againſt the image of the Trinity, whether Cranmer, or ſome elſe, I know not, Wincheſter heard the King anſwer them too: ſo poſſeſſed was the King once with an opinion of retaining them; and yet at length, by the Archbiſhop's wiſe and moderate carriage and ſpeeches, the King was brought to another opinion, and to give his orders for the aboliſhing of a great many of them; namely, of ſuch as had been abuſed. But when he had done this, he would not forego the other, but commanded kneeling and creeping to the croſs. And groſs was the ſuperſtition that was committed in this blind devotion; which the King, by the Archbiſhop's means, being at length ſenſible of, was prevailed with that this alſo ſhould no more be uſed, as you heard before.

There was one thing more this careful Archbiſhop re-

BOOK I.

commended to the King this year. He was troubled for his cathedral church of Canterbury, obſerving how the revenues of it were diminiſhed and made away daily by the prebendaries thereof, to ſatisfy the inſatiable greedineſs of the laity, and it may be their own too. And the courtiers and others were hard to be withſtood, when they were minded to rake from the church. The practice was, that when any were minded to get a portion of land from the church, they would firſt engage the King therein, and ſo the church was to make it over to him: and then by gift, or for ſome trifling conſideration, as a ſale, it was conveyed to them from the King. Nay, ſometimes they would uſe the King's name, without his knowledge.

Anno 1535. Seeks to redreſs alienation of the revenues of the cathedral.

137

Cranmer had the honeſty and the courage to make complaint of this abuſe and injury done to the revenues of the cathedral. "That thoſe of the church, to their diſquiet-"ment, and alſo great charges, did alienate their lands "daily, as it was ſaid, by the King's commandment; but "he was ſure," he ſaid, "that others had gotten the beſt "lands, and not his Majeſty. Therefore he ſued, that when "his Majeſty was minded to have any of their lands, that "they might have ſome letters from him to declare his "pleaſure, without the which they were ſworn to make "no alienation: and that the ſame alienations might not be "made at other men's pleaſures, but only to his Majeſty's "uſe." By which means, it is likely, the prebendaries had more quiet poſſeſſion of their lands for the time to come.

Scripture and ſermons more common by the Archbiſhop's means.

By this time the Archbiſhop had compaſſed two very good things, in order to the furthering the common people in knowledge and true religion. The one was, that he brought in among the laity a more common uſe of the Scriptures; and the other, that ſermons were more frequently preached than had been before. But both theſe, to the grief of the Archbiſhop, were ſadly abuſed: for now the contending of preachers in their pulpits, one againſt another, grew more and more, and became moſt ſcandalous. So that few preached the word of God truly and ſincerely, but ran almoſt wholly upon matters controverted; and in that railing manner, that their expreſſions were very provoking. So that this came to the ſowing of diſcord among the

people, instead of promoting love, unity, and solid religion. The laity, on the other hand, some of them railed much on the bishops, and spoke contemptibly of the priests, and taunted the preachers. The Scriptures were much read, but the effect of it appeared too much in their making use of it only for jangling and disputation upon points of religion, and to taunt at the ignorance or error of priests. Others, on the other hand, to be even with the gospellers, made it their business to derogate from the Scripture, to deal with it irreverently, and to rhyme and sing, and make sport with it in alehouses and taverns. These things came to King Henry's ears, which made him very earnestly blame both the laity and spirituality for it, in a speech which he made at the dissolution of his parliament this year. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1545. Vid. Herb. Hist. p. 600.

A Bishop confirmed.

Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunstan, D. D. was elected and confirmed Bishop of Landaff, May 2. The Archbishop sent his commissional letters, dated the same day, to Thomas Bishop of Westminster for his consecration: but the consecration is not entered in the register. His oath to the King began thus: "I Anthony Kitchin, elect Bishop of "Landaff, having now the vail of darkness of the usurped "power, authority, and jurisdiction of the see and Bishop of "Rome, clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly "testify and declare in my heart, that neither the see nor "the Bishop of Rome, nor any foreign potestate, hath, or "ought to have, &c." as before. Anthony Kitchin. 138

Another proclamation was set out the next year, (which was the last issued out under this King,) prohibiting again Tindal's and Coverdale's English New Testament, or any other than what was permitted by parliament; and also the English books of Wickliff, Frith, &c. the King being vexed with the contests and clamours of the people one against another, while they disputed so much of what they read, and practised so little. Anno 1546. A proclamation against the English Testament.

A small matter oftentimes creates great brabblings and contentions in fraternities. Such a small thing now occurred in the Archbishop's church. Two of the prebends were mind- He interprets a statute of his church.

BOOK I. Anno 1546.

ed to change houſes; but the reſt, it ſeems, made ſome oppoſition, as reckoning it contrary to a certain ſtatute of that church. The Archbiſhop hearing hereof, ſeaſonably interpoſed, and interpreted their ſtatute for them. The preachers alſo of this church ſeem not to have been fairly dealt with by the prebends, both as to their lodgings and benefits: but at a late chapter they had obtained an order in their behalf. This the Archbiſhop now, who favoured preaching, reminded them ſpeedily to make good. Concerning both theſe affairs, he wrote this letter to them for the preſerving quietneſs, peace, and good order in his church.

Ex Regiſt. Eccleſ. Chriſt. Cant.

"After my hearty commendations: whereas I am informed that you be in doubt whether any prebendary of that my church may exchange his houſe or garden with another prebend of the ſame church-living, and that you be moved by this ſtatute ſo to think, which here followeth; *Statuimus ut canonicus de novo electus, et demiſſus in demortui, aut reſignantis, aut quoviſmodo cedentis ædes ſuccedat.* Theſe be to ſignify unto you, that neither this ſtatute, nor any other reaſon that I know, maketh any thing againſt the exchange between two prebends living, but that they may change houſe, orchard, or garden during their life, this ſtatute or any other reaſon contrary notwithſtanding. And whereas you have appointed your preachers at your laſt chapter their chambers and commodities, I require you that they may be indelayedly admitted thereunto, according to that your order. Thus fare you well. From my manor of Croyden, the 12th of December, 1546.

"Th. Cantuarienſ.

"To my loving friends the Vice-dean and
"Prebendaries of my church in Canterbury."

139 The Archbiſhop, by the King's command, pens a form for a communion.

This was the laſt year of King Henry. And the two laſt things the Archbiſhop was concerned in by the King, were theſe. The King commanded him to pen a form for the alteration of the maſs into a communion. For a peace being concluded between Henry and the French King, while that King's ambaſſador, Dr. Annebault, was here, a notable treaty

CHAP. XXX. Anno 1546.

was in hand by both Kings for the promoting that good piece of reformation in the churches of both kingdoms, of abolishing the mass. The Kings seemed to be firmly resolved thereon, intending to exhort the Emperor to do the same. The work our King committed to the Archbishop, who no question undertook it very gladly: but the death of the King prevented this taking effect.

His last office to the King.

The last office the Archbishop did for the King his master was to visit him in his last sickness, whom of all his bishops and chaplains he chose to have with him at that needful hour, to receive his last comfort and counsel. But the King was void of speech when he came, though not of sense and apprehension. For when the King took him by the hand, the Archbishop speaking comfortably to him, desired him to give him some token that he put his trust in God through Jesus Christ, according as he had advised him; and thereat the King presently wrung hard the Archbishop's hand, and soon after departed, *viz.* January the 28th.

The end of the first Book.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

He crowns King Edward.

OUR Archbiſhop, having loſt his old maſter, was not ſo ſorrowful but the hopefulneſs of the new one did as much revive and ſolace him; becauſe he concluded, that the matters requiſite for the reformation of the Church were like now to go on more roundly, and with leſs impediment. Anno 1546. Conceives great hopes of King Edward.

One of the very firſt things that was done in young King Edward the Sixth's reign, in relation to the Church, was, that the biſhops, who had the care of eccleſiaſtical matters, and the ſouls of men, ſhould be made to depend entirely upon the King and his council, and to be ſubject to ſuſpenſion from their office, and to have their whole epiſcopal power taken from them at his pleaſure; which might ſerve as a bridle in caſe they ſhould oppoſe the proceedings of a reformation. In this I ſuppoſe the Archbiſhop had his hand: for it was his judgment, that the exerciſe of all epiſcopal juriſdiction depended upon the Prince: and that, as he gave it, ſo he might reſtrain it at his pleaſure. And therefore he began this matter with himſelf, petitioning, "That as he "had exerciſed the authority of an Archbiſhop during the "reign of the former King; ſo that authority ending with "his life, it would pleaſe the preſent King Edward to com-"mit unto him that power again." For it ſeemed that he The Archbiſhop takes a commiſſion to execute his office.

BOOK II. Anno 1546.

would not act as Archbishop, till he had a new commission from the new King for so doing. And that this was his judgment, appeared in the first words of that commission granted to him; in the composing of which I make no question he had his hand. *Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Ecclesiastica dicitur, quam Secularis, a Regia potestate, velut a supremo capite, ac omnium Magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine, primitus emanaverit,* &c. That is,

Cranm. Regist.

"Since all authority of exercising jurisdiction, and also all
142 "kind of jurisdiction, as well that which is called ecclesiasti-
"cal, as secular, originally hath flowed from the King's
"power, as from the supreme head, and the fountain and
"source of all magistracy within our kingdom: we there-
"fore in this part yielding to your humble supplications,
"and consulting for the good of our subjects, have deter-
"mined to commit our place to you, under the manner and
"form hereunder described." And the King then licenseth him to ordain within his diocese, and to promote and present to ecclesiastical benefices; and to institute and invest; and, if occasion required, to deprive; to prove testaments, and the rest of the business of his courts. And so all the rest of his offices were reckoned. This was dated Feb. 7, 1546. But yet all these things were committed to him, with a power of revocation of the exercise of this authority reserved in the King, *et durante beneplacito*. Thus a formal commission was made to him; I do not transcribe it, because the Bishop of Sarum hath saved me that pains. And hence I find, that the Archbishop in some of his writings is styled, *The Commissary of our dread Soveraign Lord King Edward.*

Hist. Ref. P. ii. Coll. p. 90.

King Edward crowned by the Archbishop.

One of the first exercises of his episcopal power was the coronation of young King Edward: which was celebrated February the 20th, at the abbey of Westminster, the Archbishop assisting now at his coronation, as he had done about nine years before at his christening, when he stood his godfather. The form and solemnity of it, and wherein the Archbishop bore so great a part, was in this manner, as I collect and transcribe out of a manuscript in Benet College.

C. C. C. C. Library. Miscellan. B.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1546. The manner of the coronation.

Firſt, there was a goodly ſtage, richly hanged with cloth of gold and cloth of arras; and the ſteps from the choir contained two and twenty ſteps of height; and down to the high altar but fifteen ſteps, goodly carpeted, where the King's Grace ſhould tread with his nobles.

Secondly, The high altar richly garniſhed with divers and coſtly jewels and ornaments of much eſtimation and value. And alſo the tombs on each ſide the high altar richly hanged with fine gold arras.

Thirdly, In the midſt of the ſtage was a goodly thing made of ſeven ſteps of height, all round, where the King's Majeſty's chair-royal ſtood; and he ſat therein, after he was crowned, all the maſs-while.

Fourthly, At nine of the clock all Weſtminſter choir was in their copes, and three goodly croſſes before them: and after them other three goodly rich croſſes, and the King's chapel with his children, following all in ſcarlet, with ſurplices and copes on their backs. And after them ten biſhops in ſcarlet with their rochets, and rich copes on their backs, and their mitres on their heads, did ſet forth at the weſt door of Weſtminſter towards the King's palace, there to receive his Grace; and my Lord of Canterbury with his croſs before him alone, and his mitre on his head. And ſo paſſed forth in order, as before is ſaid. And within a certain ſpace after were certain blue cloths laid abroad in the church-floor againſt the King's coming, and ſo all the palace, even to York-place.

Then is deſcribed the ſetting forward to Weſtminſter 143
church to his coronation, unction, and confirmation.

After all the lords in order had kneeled down and kiſſed his Grace's right foot, and after held their hands between his Grace's hands, and kiſſed his Grace's left cheek, and ſo did their homage; then began a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt by my Lord of Canterbury, with good ſinging in the choir, and organs playing. There at offering-time his Grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine.

Then, after the levation of the maſs, there was read by my Lord Chancellor, in preſence of all the nobles, a general pardon granted by King Henry the Eighth, father to our

BOOK II. liege Lord the King, that all [illegible] pardoned that have offended before the 28th day of January last past.

Anno 1546. When the King's Majesty, with his nobles, came to the place of the coronation, within a while after, his Grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen unto the north side of the stage, and shewed to the people; and these words spoken to the people by my Lord of Canterbury, in this manner, saying: "Sirs, here I present unto you King Edward, the "rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm. Wherefore "all ye, that be come this day to do your homage, service, "and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the same?" To the which all the people cried with a loud voice, and said, Yea, Yea, Yea; and cried, King Edward; and prayed, God save King Edward. And so to the south side in like manner, and to the east side, and to the west side.

After this, his Grace was borne again to the high altar in his chair, and there sat bare-headed: and all his nobles and peers of the realm were about his Grace, and my Lord of Canterbury principal. And there made certain prayers and godly psalms over his Grace; and the choir answered with goodly singing, the organs playing, and trumpets blowing.

Then, after a certain unction, blessing, and signing of his Grace, he was borne into a place by the high altar, where the Kings use always to kneel at the levation of the parliament-mass. And there his Grace was made ready of new garments; and after a certain space brought forth between two noblemen, and sat before the high altar bare-headed. Then after a while his Grace was anointed in the breast, his soles of his feet, his elbows, his wrists of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayer said by the Bishop of Canterbury, and sung by the choir.

Then anon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinsel gold was hung over his head: and my Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, and his Grace lying prostrate afore the altar, anointed his back.

Then, after this, my Lord of Canterbury arose and stood up, and the fair cloth taken away. Then my Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand a certain

CHAP. I. Anno 1546.

ſpace; and immediately after began *Te Deum*, with the organs going, the choir ſinging, and the trumpets playing in the battlements of the church. Then, immediately after that, was the crown ſet on the King's Majeſty's head by them two, [*viz.* Somerſet, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.] And after that another crown; and ſo his Grace was crowned with three crowns. 144

The relation breaks off here abruptly. But what is wanting may be ſupplied by the order of the coronation, as Biſhop Burnet hath taken it out of the council-book, and given it us in his Hiſtory. Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 93.

At this coronation there was no ſermon, as I can find; but that was ſupplied by an excellent ſpeech which was made by the Archbiſhop. It was found among the ineſtimable collections of Archbiſhop Uſher; and though publiſhed of late years, yet I cannot but inſert it here, tending ſo much to illuſtrate the memory of this great and good Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop's ſpeech at the coronation. Foxes and Firebrands, part 2.

"Moſt dread and royal Soveraign: the promiſes your "Highneſs hath made here, at your coronation, to forſake "the Devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the Bi- "ſhop of Rome's ſenſe, when you commit any thing diſtaſte- "ful to that ſee, to hit your Majeſty in the teeth, as Pope "Paul the Third, late Biſhop of Rome, ſent to your royal "father, ſaying, *Didſt thou not promiſe, at our permiſſion "of thy coronation, to forſake the Devil and all his works, "and doſt thou run to hereſy? For the breach of this thy "promiſe, knoweſt thou not, that it is in our power to diſ- "poſe of thy ſword and ſceptre to whom we pleaſe?* We, "your Majeſty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this "promiſe reacheth not at your Highneſs' ſword, ſpiritual or "temporal, or in the leaſt at your Highneſs ſwaying the "ſceptre of this your dominion, as you and your pre- "deceſſors have had them from God. Neither could your "anceſtors lawfully reſign up their crowns to the Biſhop of "Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then "taken upon that ceremony.

"The Biſhops of Canterbury, for the moſt part, have "crowned your predeceſſors, and anointed them Kings of

" peace, to repreſs violence, and to execute juſtice through- CHAP. I.
" out your realms. For precedents on thoſe Kings who Anno 1546.
" performed not theſe things, the old law ſhews how the
" Lord revenged his quarrel; and on thoſe Kings who
" fulfilled theſe things, he poured forth his bleſſings in
" abundance. For example, it is written of Joſiah, in the
" book of the Kings, thus; *Like unto him there was no*
" *King, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according*
" *to all the law of Moſes; neither after him aroſe there any*
" *like him.* This was to that Prince a perpetual fame of
" dignity, to remain to the end of days.

" Being bound by my function to lay theſe things before
" your Royal Highneſs; the one as a reward, if you ful-
" fil; the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect
" them: yet I openly declare, before the living God, and
" before theſe nobles of the land, that I have no commiſſion
" to denounce your Majeſty deprived, if your Highneſs miſs
" in part, or in whole, of theſe performances: much leſs
" to draw up indentures between God and your Majeſty, or
" to ſay you forfeit your crown with a clauſe for the Bi-
" ſhop of Rome, as have been done by your Majeſty's pre-
" deceſſors, King John, and his ſon Henry of this land.
" The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his
" countenance ſhine upon your Majeſty, grant you a proſ-
" perous and happy reign, defend you, and ſave you: and
" let your ſubjects ſay, Amen.

" God ſave the King."

I find no biſhop conſecrated this year.

CHAP. II. 146

A royal Viſitation.

By theſe and other pious inſtigations of the Archbiſhop, who was of high eſteem with the King, he began early to think of the church, and to take care about rectifying the diſorders of its members. For about April there was a royal viſitation reſolved upon all England over, for the better

A royal viſitation on foot.

BOOK II. Anno 1546.

reformation of religion. And accordingly, in the beginning of May, letters were iſſued out from the King to the archbiſhops, that they and all their fellow-biſhops ſhould forbear their viſitations, as was uſually done in all royal and archiepiſcopal viſitations. And it was enjoined, that no miniſters ſhould preach in any churches but in their own.

Titus B. 2.

In a volume in the Cotton library, there be extant the King's letters to Robert Archbiſhop of York, relating to this viſitation; ſigned by our Archbiſhop, the Duke of Somerſet the Protector, and his brother Sir Thomas Seymour, the Lord Ruſſel, favourers of the reformation; the Lord St. Johns, Petres the Secretary, who went along with it; Gage, Controller of the Houſehold, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, back-friends to it. I do not ſet down the letter itſelf, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum hath already publiſhed it in his Hiſtory.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 103.

Very worthy, ſober, and learned men were appointed for viſitors, both of the laity and clergy: and there was a book of injunctions prepared, whereby the King's viſitors were to govern their viſitation. The original of which book of injunctions is extant in Benet College library: there I have ſeen them, being ſigned by Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerſet, Sir Thomas Seymour, and divers others of the privy-council; but no biſhop, ſave Cranmer only; he being, I ſuppoſe, the only biſhop then a privy-counſellor; and now often appearing in the council for the better forwarding of religion. Theſe injunctions are printed in Biſhop Sparrow's Collection, and briefly epitomized in the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

Vol. ii. p. 28.

The viſitors.

The perſons nominated for this preſent employment were theſe, as I find them ſet down in a manuſcript, formerly belonging to Archbiſhop Parker, but now in the Benet College library: where you may obſerve the viſitors were divided into ſix ſets, and to each ſet were apportioned particular epiſcopal fees, and a preacher and a regiſter, in this exact method following.

Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Visitors.	*Added by Archbishop Parker.*	*Counties visited.*
Dean of Westminster.	Boston.	York.
Sir John Hersley, Kt.		Duryſme.
Nicholas Ridley, preacher.		Carlyll.
Edward Plankney, regiſter.		Cheſter.
Sir Anthony Coke, Kt.		
Sir John Godſalve, Kt. [f]		Weſtminſter.
Dr. Chriſtopher Nevilon.	The elder.	London.
John Goſnold.	A lawyer.	Norwich.
Dr. Madewe, preacher.		Ely.
Peter Lylly, regiſter.		
Sir John Hales, Kt.		
Sir John Maſon, Kt.		Rocheſter.
Sir Anthony Cope, Kt.		Canterbury.
Dr. Cave.	A lawyer.	Chicheſter.
Mr. Briggs, preacher.	Once of Pembroke.	Wincheſter.
Rafe Morice, regiſter.		
Dean of Paul's.	Dr. May.	Sariſbury.
Dean of Exeter.	Dr. Hains.	Exeter.
Sir Walter Buckler, Kt.		Bath.
Mr. Cotisford, preacher.		Briſtow.
John Redman, regiſter.	Of Haſlingfeld.	Glocester.
Dean of Lincoln.	Dr. Taylor.	Peterburgh.
Dr. Rowland Taylor.		Lincoln.
Mr. John Joſeph.	Once of Canterbury, a friar.	Oxford.
		Coventry.
John Old, regiſter.		Litchfeld.
Mr. Moriſon.	Once huſband to the Earl of Rutland's wife.	Worceſter.
Mr. Syddel.		Hereford.
Mr. Ferrowr, preacher.	After Ld. Biſhop of St. David's.	Landaff.
		St. David's.
George Conſtantine, regiſter.		Bangor.
Hue Rawlins, preacher in the Welch tongue.		St. Aſſe.

147

[f] He belonged to the office of the ſignet, and was prothonotary.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

Where we may obſerve, that in every company of viſitors was joined one preacher, or more; whoſe buſineſs, in the reſpective circuits, was to preach to the people, to dehort them from the ſuperſtitious uſe of beads and ſuch-like things, and to learn them to worſhip God truly in heart and mind, and to obey the Prince.

The method of this viſitation.

The method which theſe commiſſioners uſed in their viſitation, as we collect from what was done at St. Paul's, London, was this. They ſummoned the biſhop, and the members of each cathedral; and firſt ſware them to renounce the Biſhop of Rome, and to the King's ſupremacy: and then, that they ſhould preſent all things in their church and dioceſe needful to be reformed. Then certain interrogatories and articles of inquiry were read to them by the Regiſter: to perform which, an oath was adminiſtered to them. After that, the printed Injunctions, and others not printed, with the book of Homilies, were delivered, both to the biſhop for his church, and the archdeacons for their reſpective archdeaconries; ſtrictly enjoining them to ſee them ſpeedily executed, reſerving other new injunctions to be miniſtered afterwards, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Their next work was to examine the canons and prieſts, by virtue of their oaths which they had taken, concerning their lives and doctrines. What was diſcovered in other places concerning the vices of the clergy, we may conclude from what was found among the dignitaries of St. Paul's: for when the canons and prieſts belonging to this church were examined, one of them, named Painter, openly confeſſed that he had often carnally uſed a certain married man's wife, whom he would not name: and divers others, both of the canons and prieſts, confeſſed the ſame of themſelves. 148

Fox.

There be remaining, in the archives of the church of Canterbury, the Injunctions of the King's viſitors to the Dean and Chapter there, bearing date September 22, an. 1. Edward VI. ſubſcribed by the viſitors' hands: which Injunctions do all relate to the particular ſtatutes of the church, and are of no other moment.

The Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

There was now a book of Homilies prepared for preſent uſe, to be read in all churches, for the inſtruction of the people: and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament.

in Engliſh, was to be ſet up in all churches, for the better instruction of prieſts in the ſenſe and knowledge of the Scriptures. And both theſe books, by the King's Injunctions aforementioned, were commanded to be taught and learned. CHAP. II. Anno 1547.

CHAP. III.

Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

The Archbiſhop to Wincheſter concerning the Homilies.

ARCHBISHOP Cranmer found it highly convenient to find out ſome means for the inſtruction of the people in true religion, till the church could be better ſupplied with learned prieſts and miniſters. For which purpoſe he reſolved upon having ſome good homilies or ſermons compoſed, to be read to the people; which ſhould in a plain manner teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and deliver the people from popular errors and ſuperſtitions. When this was going in hand with, the Archbiſhop ſent his letters to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to try if he could bring him to be willing to join in this buſineſs; ſhewing him, that it was no more than what was intended by the former King, and a convocation in the year 1542, wherein himſelf was a member, to make ſuch a ſtay of errors, as were then by ignorant preachers ſpread among the people. But this biſhop was not for Cranmer's turn; in his anſwer ſignifying to him, "That ſince that convocation the King his old "maſter's mind changed, and that God had afterwards 149
"given him the gift of pacification," (as he worded it,) meaning, that the King made a ſtop in his once intended reformation. He added, "that there was a convocation that "extinguiſhed thoſe devices, and this was ſtill in force: and "therefore, that now nothing more ought to be done in "church matters." And a copy of this letter he ſent to the Lord Protector, trying to perſuade him alſo to be of his mind.

The Archbiſhop anſwered theſe letters of Wincheſter: wherein he again required theſe homilies to be made, by

BOOK II.

Anno 1547. See his letters to the Protector, in Fox.

virtue of that convocation five years before; and desired Winchester to weigh things. But he replied, "It was true, they "communed then of such things, but they took not effect at "that time; nor needed they to be put in execution now. "And that in his judgment it could not be done without a "new authority and command from the King's Majesty." Then he used his politics, urging, "that it was not safe to "make new stirs in religion: that the Lord Protector did well "in putting out a proclamation to stop vain rumors; and "he thought it not best to enterprise any thing to tempt "the people with occasion of tales, whereby to break the "proclamation. And as in a natural body," he said, "rest "without trouble did confirm and strengthen; so it was in "a commonwealth, trouble travaileth, and bringeth things "to looseness." Then he suggested the danger the Archbishop might involve himself in by making alterations: "That he was not certain of his life, (when the old order "was broken, and a new brought in by homilies,) that he "should continue to see the new device executed: for it "was not done in a day; he wished there were nothing "else to do now. He suggested, that a new order en-"gendered a new cause of punishment against them that "offend; and punishments were not pleasant to them that "have the execution: and yet they must be, for nothing "may be contemned." There were two letters Winchester sent to the Archbishop, in answer to as many from the Archbishop: in which he laboured to persuade the Archbishop not to innovate any thing in religion during the King's minority; and particularly to forbear making homilies, and refusing for himself to meddle therein. An imperfect part of one of these letters I have laid in the Appendix, as I transcribed it from the original.

No. XXXV.

The Archbishop, &c. compose homilies.

So, when it was perceived that Winchester would not be brought to comply and join in with the Archbishop and the rest, they went about the composing the homilies themselves. Cranmer had a great hand in them: and that homily of Salvation particularly seems to be of his own doing. This, while he was in composing it, was shewn to Winchester by the Archbishop; to which he made this objection: "That he would yield to him in this homily, if they

CHAP. III. Anno 1547.

"could ſhew him any old writer that wrote how faith ex- "cluded charity in the office of juſtification; and ſaid that "it was againſt Scripture." Upon this Canterbury began to argue with him, and to ſhew him how faith excluded charity in the point of juſtifying. And Wincheſter denied his arguments. And, in fine, ſuch was his ſophiſtication, that the Archbiſhop at laſt told him, "He liked nothing, "unleſs he did it himſelf: and that he diſliked the homily for 150 "that reaſon, becauſe he was not a counſellor."

Wincheſter in the Fleet

The council had now put this biſhop in the Fleet for his refractorineſs to the King's proceedings; where, if his complaint to the Lord Protector were true, he was ſomewhat ſtraitly handled: for he was allowed no friend or ſervant, no chaplain, barber, taylor, nor phyſician: a ſign he gave them high provocation. While he was here, the Archbiſhop ſent for him once or twice to diſcourſe with him, and to try to bring him to comply with their proceedings in reforming religion. He dealt very gently with him, and told him, "That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be "called to the council again: but withal told him, that he "ſtood too much in obſtinacy; that it was perverſe frow- "ardneſs, and not any zeal for the truth:" and laboured to bring him to allow the book, which was now finiſhed, and the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter's cenſure of the homily of Salvation.

The former he could not allow of, becauſe of the doctrine therein by Cranmer aſſerted of juſtification by faith without works: which Cranmer took pains to perſuade him about; telling him, his intent was hereby only to ſet out the freedom of God's mercy. But Wincheſter challenged him to ſhew Scripture for it, or any one ancient writer, that faith in juſtifying excludeth charity. This Wincheſter afterward declared at large to the Lord Protector; and added, that the Archbiſhop in that homily of Salvation had taken ſuch a matter in hand, and ſo handled it, as, if he were his extreme enemy, he would have wiſhed him to have taken that piece in hand, and ſo to have handled it as he did. He repreſented one of the Archbiſhop's arguments for faith excluding charity to be thus, out of that homily; *We be juſtified by faith without all works of the law: Charity is a work of the law:* Ergo, *We are juſtified without charity.* But

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

I warn the reader to consult the homily itself before he pass his judgment upon Cranmer's argument, as it is here represented by one that was none of his friend. In fine, he said, "There were as many faults in that homily of "Salvation as he had been weeks in prison, and that was "seven, besides the matter, *viz.* making a trouble without "necessity."

And of the Archbishop for it.

In short, he charged the Archbishop "for troubling the "world with such a needless speculation as this is; because," he said, "that in baptism we are justified, being infants, "before we can talk of the justification we strive for. For "all men receive their justification in their infancy in bap-"tism: and if they fall after baptism, they must arise "again by the sacrament of penance. And so this doctrine," he said, "was to be sent to the universities; where it is "meet to be talked and disputed of, and not fit for ho-"milies." And, to disparage further the Archbishop's judgment, he told the Protector, "That if my Lord of Canterbury "would needs travail in this matter, he should never per-"suade that faith excluded charity in justification, unless he "borrowed prisons of the Protector; and then he might "percase have some to agree to it: as poor men kneel "at Rome when the Bishop of Rome goeth by, or else are "knocked on the head with a halberd." And then he made some scoffing mention of the strength of God's spirit
151 in the Archbishop, and his learning in his laws, so as to be able to overthrow with his breath all untruths, and establish truths. I make no reflection upon all this unseemly language of this Bishop, but leave it to the reader to judge hereby of the learning and spirit that was in him. And could we have retrieved the Archbishop's own arguments and replies to these barkings of Winchester, they would have left to the world a full vindication of Cranmer and his doctrine.

Winchester's censure of Erasmus's Paraphrase.

As to Erasmus's Paraphrase, the said Bishop pretended, "He found divers things in it to condemn the work: and "that he agreed with them that said, Erasmus laid the eggs, "and Luther hatched them: and that of all the monstrous "opinions that have risen, evil men had a wondrous oc-"casion ministered to them from that book." He also wrote to the Protector the particular objections he made against

it. He said, "He might term it in one word *Abomination*, "both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of "Erasmus's pen; and also for the arrogant ignorance of the "translator of it: considering that book was authorized by "the King, a charge was laid upon the realm of twenty "thousand pounds, by enjoining every parish to buy one: "whereof he had made an estimate by the probable number "of buyers, and the price of the book. He charged the "translator with ignorance, both in Latin and English; a "man," he said, "far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, "and not without malice on his part. CHAP. III. Anno 1547.

"Finally, the matter he had to shew in both the books "was in some part dangerous; and the concealment thereof "a great fault, if he did not utter it. And that, he pre- "tended, made him some while ago write to the council, "declaring his mind in relation thereunto." For which he was sent to the Fleet.

His account of his commitment.

The true occasion whereof, as I take it from his own letter, written with his own hand, which I have before me, was this. Upon the departure of the Lord Protector against the Scots, the King's visitors began their visitation. "Then, "as soon as the Bishop heard of the visitation, and the "books of Homilies and Injunctions were come to his "hands, he wrote to the council, trusting, upon such ear- "nest advertisements as he made, they would incontinently "have sent for him; and, upon knowledge of so evident "matter as he thought he had to shew, would have staid "till the Protector's return. He saw," as he said, "a deter- "mination to do all things suddenly at one time. Where- "unto though the Protector had agreed, yet of his wisdom, "as the Bishop conjectured, he had rather these matters "should have tarried till his return, had he not been *pressed* "*on both sides*, (an expression which the Protector in a letter "to him had used.) He reckoned, that if he could have "staid this matter in his absence, though by bringing him- "self into extreme danger, besides his duty to God and the "King, he should have done the Protector a pleasure, of "whom he had this opinion, that willingly and wittingly "he would neither break the act of parliament, nor com- "mand books to be bought by authority, that contained Inter Foxii MSS.

BOOK II. Anno 1547. 152

" ſuch doctrine as thoſe books did. Thus he had," he ſaid, " remembrance of his Grace in theſe his letters to the coun-" cil; but he chiefly made not his Grace, but God, his foun-" dation, with the preſervation of the late deceaſed King's " honour, and the ſurety of the King then being. His writ-" ing, he confeſſed, was vehement; but he would have none " offended with it, for he wrote it with a whole heart; and " if he could have written it with the blood of his heart, " he would have done it, to have ſtaid the thing till it had " been more maturely digeſted. He touched lively one " point in his letter to the council, and conſidered whether " the King might command againſt a common law, or an " act of parliament; and ſhewed the danger of it in the late " Lord Cardinal, and the Lord Typtoft before him, who " was executed on Tower-hill for acting againſt the laws " of the land, though it were by the King's commiſſion; " and by other precedents.

" Not long after theſe letters of the Biſhop to the coun-" cil, they ſent for him. When he came before them, he " came furniſhed with his trinkets, his ſleeves and boſom " truſſed full of books, to furniſh his former allegations. " He was heard very well, and gently. Then he ſhewed " matter that he thought would have moved them: for " there he ſhewed the two contrary books, [meaning the " Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.] But the council " told him they were not moved: and added, that their " conſciences agreed not with his; uſing many good words " to bring him to conformity. After he had been aſide " from them, and was returned again, they entered a pre-" ciſe order with him, either to receive the Injunctions, or " to refuſe. In which caſe, they told him, that the Protec-" tor was privy to what was done there. The Biſhop an-" ſwered, That he would receive them as far as God's law " and the King's would bind him. And becauſe he ſaw " they drew to ſuch preciſeneſs, he told them, there were " three weeks of delay to the coming of the viſitors to him. " In the mean time he offered to go to Oxford, to abide the " diſcuſſionthere. That offer was not allowed. He de-" ſired to go to his houſe at London, and have learned men " ſpeak with him there. That was not accepted. He en-

" tered then the allegation of the Goſpel, of the ſervant CHAP. III.
" that ſaid he would not do a thing, and yet did it: and Anno 1547.
" ſo, the Biſhop ſaid, it might be, that although he then ſaid
" nay, as his conſcience ſerved him, yet he might change,
" and was a man that might be tempted. But as his con-
" ſcience was then, he thought that God's laws and the
" King's letted him. Then they aſked him, if he had
" ſpoken to any man of what he found in the books. To
" which he anſwered truly, [acknowledging he had;] but
" told the Lords, that he thought it hard, unleſs there were
" a greater matter than this, to ſend him to priſon for de-
" claring his mind beforehand, what he minded to do, be-
" fore it had been by him done; who had all the mean time
" to repent himſelf."

In the end, the council committed him to the Fleet. Of his behaviour under this cenſure, he hath theſe words; " That he had well digeſted it; and ſo all might be well, " he cared not what became of his body. That he departed " as quietly from them as ever man did, and had endured " with as little grudge. He had learned this leſſon in the " world, never to look backward, as St. Paul ſaith, *ne re-* " *member that is paſt.* That he would never grudge or com- " plain of any thing for himſelf."

To the Lord Protector, to whom he wrote all this ac- 153
count of himſelf, turning his diſcourſe, he ſaid, " That he " thought it very weighty to have theſe books recom- " mended to the realm in the King's name, by his (the Pro- " tector's) direction, ſince the King himſelf knew nothing " of them, and therefore nothing could be aſcribed to him: " and his Grace had been ſo occupied, as all men knew, " that he had no leiſure to peruſe them. And yet of ſuch " ſort were the books, according to the account he had be- " fore written; and that if no man had advertiſed the coun- " cil, as he had, it was becauſe they had not read them as " he had done."

In vindication of the learned author of the Paraphraſe, ſo Eraſmus vindicated.
bedaſhed by Wincheſter, I will here uſe the words of him that writ the Epiſtle Dedicatory before the tranſlated Paraphraſe on the Acts. " I cannot but judge, that whoſo are " prompt and haſty condemners of Eraſmus, or eager ad-

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"verſaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and co-
"lour of Eraſmus, rather utter their ſtomach and hatred
"againſt God's word, and the grace of the Goſpel, which
"Eraſmus for his part moſt diligently and moſt ſimply la-
"boureth to bring to light." And to ſuch as ſaid that his doctrine was ſcarcely ſincere, and that he did ſomewhat err, he anſwered, "That Eraſmus, foraſmuch as he was a man, "and ſo eſteemed himſelf, would that his works ſhould "none otherwiſe be read or accepted than the writings of "other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little "trip among ſo many notable good works for the interpre-"tation of Scripture, and for the help of the ſimple, ſhould "rather be borne withal, than ſo many good things to be "either rejected or kept away from the hungry chriſtian "reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing; "and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of "nothing, would have the ignorant to lack ſo much good "edifying, as may be taken of Eraſmus."

Wincheſter's letter to Somerſet concerning theſe things.

Mention was made a little above of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's objections againſt the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, ſent by him in a letter to the Lord Protector. This paper I have met with in Sir John Cotton's library; and being ſomewhat long, I have put it into the Appendix: wherein may be ſeen at large the Biſhop's quarrels, both againſt the Paraphraſe and the Homilies; labouring here to ſhew, that the book of Homilies and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe did contradict each other, and therefore could not both be received; and that there were errors in each, and ſo neither ought to be admitted. Moreover, he urged the danger of making alterations in religion contrary to the laws then in force; deſigning thereby, if he could over-perſuade the Protector, to enervate the King's late Injunctions: for the Papiſts, whoſe chief inſtrument was Wincheſter, ſaw it was time now to beſtir themſelves to overthrow theſe proceedings that were in hand, if it were poſſible.

Numb. XXXVI.

The Archbiſhop appoints a thankſgiving for a victory.

When this affair happened between the council and the Biſhop, for which they caſt him into the Fleet, Somerſet the Protector was abſent in an expedition againſt the Scots: by whoſe conduct, in the month of September, God bleſſed the King with a very glorious victory, in a battle fought near

Muſſelburrough. Which redounded much to the Protector's honour, wherein was more danger than he looked for, which gave him the greater occaſion to ſhew his valour: for there were but few loſt on the Engliſh ſide; but fifteen thouſand Scots reckoned to be ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners. For this victory a public thankſgiving was thought fit to be celebrated. And the Archbiſhop required of the Biſhop of London to procure a ſermon at St. Paul's, before the Mayor and Aldermen, and immediately after a proceſſion in Engliſh, and *Te Deum*. The Archbiſhop's letter (which will ſhew what the court thought of that good ſucceſs) was as followeth. CHAP. III. Anno 1547. 154

The Archbiſhop to the Biſhop of London. Cranm. Regiſt.

"AFTER our right hearty commendations: whereas it "hath pleaſed Almighty God to ſend the King's Majeſty "ſuch victory againſt the Scots, as was almoſt above the ex- "pectation of man, and ſuch as hath not been heard of in "any part of Chriſtendom this many years: in which vic- "tory above the number of 15000 Scots be ſlain, 2000 "taken priſoners; and among them many noblemen, and "others of good reputation; all their ordnance and bag- "gage of their camp alſo won from them: the King's Ma- "jeſty, with advice of his Highneſs' privy-council, preſently "attending upon his Majeſty's moſt royal perſon, well "knowing this, as all other goodneſs, to be gifts of God, "hath and ſo doth account it; and therefore tendereth "unto him the only glory and praiſe for the ſame: and ſo "hath willed me, not only in his Majeſty's cathedral "church, and other churches of my dioceſe, to give thanks "to Almighty God, but alſo to require, in his name, all "other biſhops in the province of Canterbury to do, or "cauſe to be done, ſemblably in their courſe. Which his "Majeſty's pleaſure I have thought good to ſignify unto "you: requiring you, not only to cauſe a ſermon to be "made in your cathedral church the next holy-day after "receipt hereof, declaring the goodneſs of God, and ex- "horting the people to faith and amendment of life; and "to give thanks to God for this victory; but alſo at the "ſame time, immediately after the ſermon, and in preſence "of the Mayor, Aldermen, and other the citizens of London,

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

" to cauſe the proceſſion in Engliſh, and *Te Deum*, to be " openly and devoutly ſung. And that you do alſo cauſe " the like order to be given in every pariſh-church in your " dioceſe, upon ſome holy-day, when the pariſhioners ſhall " be there preſent, with as much ſpeed as you may; not " failing, as you tender his Majeſty's pleaſure. Thus fare " you heartily well. From Oatlands, the 18th day of De- " cember s, the year of our Lord God 1547.

" Your loving friend,

" Tho. Cantuarien.

" The counſellors' pleaſure is, you ſhall ſee this executed " on Tueſday next, in St. Paul's in London. This be " given in haſte."

155

CHAP. IV.

A Convocation.

A convocation in the firſt year of the King.

THE parliament now ſat: and a convocation was held November the 5th. Some account of what was done here I will in this place ſet down, as I extracted it out of the notes of ſome member, as I conceive, then preſent at it.

C. C. C. C. library. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Seſſion I. Nov. 5.

" John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln, choſen Prolocutor by " univerſal conſent."

Seſſ. II. Nov. 18.

" This day the Prolocutor was preſented to the Arch- " biſhop and Biſhops in the upper houſe."

Seſſ. III. Nov. 22.

" It was then agreed, that the Prolocutor, in the name of " the whole houſe, ſhould carry ſome petitions unto the " moſt reverend father in God the Archbiſhop, *viz.*

s It ſhould be September, I ſuppoſe.

CHAP. IV. Anno 1547.

" I. That proviſion be made, that the eccleſiaſtical law " may be examined, and promulged, according to that ſta- " tute of parliament in the 35th year of Henry VIII.

" II. That, for certain urgent cauſes, the convocation of " this clergy may be taken and choſen into the lower houſe " of parliament, as anciently it was wont to be.

" III. That the works of the biſhops and others, who by " the command of the convocation have laboured in exa- " mining, reforming, and publiſhing the divine ſervice, may " be produced, and laid before the examination of this " houſe.

" IV. That the rigour of the ſtatute of paying the King " the firſt-fruits may be ſomewhat moderated in certain ur- " gent clauſes, and may be reformed, if poſſible."

The fourth Seſſion is omitted in the manuſcript, the writer probably being then abſent.

Seſſ. V. Nov. ult.

" This day Mr. Prolocutor exhibited, and cauſed to be " read publicly, a form of a certain ordinance, delivered by " the moſt reverend the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the " receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds, *viz.* " of bread and wine. To which he himſelf ſubſcribed, and " ſome others, *viz.* Mr. Prolocutor; Mr. Cranmer, Arch- " deacon of Canterbury; Mr. May, Mr. Jenyngs, Mr. Wil- " liams, Wilſon, Carleton, &c."

Seſſ. VI. Decemb. 2. 156

" This ſeſſion, all this whole ſeſſion, in number ſixty-four, " by their mouths did approve the propoſition made the laſt " ſeſſion, of taking the Lord's body in both kinds, *nullo re-* " *clamante.*

" The ſame day with conſent were choſen Mr. Dr. Dray- " cot, Bellaſis, Dakyns, Jeffrey, Elize ap Rice, Oking, Pool, " and Ap Harry, to draw up a form of a ſtatute for paying " tithes in cities, &c."

This was a thing the clergy now were very intent upon. For I find in the Archbiſhop's reformation of the eccleſiaſti-

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

cal laws, there is a law made for paying tithes in cities, as was done in London.

Seſſ. VII. Decemb. 9.

"By common conſent were nominated and aſſigned Mr. "Rowland Merick, John ap Harry, John Williams, and "Elizeus Price, DD.LL. to obtain the following effects, *viz.* "That the petition made to have this houſe adjoined to the "lower houſe of parliament, may be granted. *Item*, That a "mitigation of the ſore penalty expreſſed in the ſtatutes "againſt the recuſants, for non-payment of the perpetual "tenths, may be alſo obtained.

"And the ſame day were likewiſe appointed, Mr. Dean "of Winchieſter, and Mr. Dr. Draycot, to accompany Mr. "Prolocutor to my Lord of Canterbury, to know a deter- "minate anſwer, what indemnity and impunity this houſe "ſhall have to treat of matters of religion, in caſes for- "bidden by the ſtatutes of this realm to treat in."

Seſſ. VIII. Dec. 17.

"This day was exhibited a certain propoſition under theſe "words, *viz.* That all ſuch canons, laws, ſtatutes, decrees, "uſages, and cuſtoms, heretofore made, had, or uſed, that "forbid any perſon to contract matrimony, or condemn ma- "trimony already contracted by any perſon, for any vow "or promiſe of prieſthood, chaſtity, or widowhood, ſhall "from henceforth ceaſe, be utterly void, and of none effect. "To which propoſition many ſubſcribed, partly in the af- "firmative, partly in the negative."

In the affirmative,	In the negative,
53 voices.	22 voices.

And here I will inſert a few words, which I take out of a book writ very near this time, and by one who was well acquainted with the affairs of this convocation. "The af- "firmants," ſaith he, "of this propoſition were almoſt treble "ſo many as were the negants. Amongſt which affirmants, "divers were then unmarried, and never afterwards did "take the liberty of marriage; as Dr. Taylor the Biſhop, "Dr. Benſon, Dr. Redman, Dr. Hugh Weſton, Mr. Wot-

Defence of Prieſts' Marriage, p. 268.

" ton, &c. Of them that denied it, notwithſtanding their CHAP.
" ſubſcriptions to the contrary, as few as they were, yet IV.
" ſome of them took upon them the liberty of marriage not Anno 1547.
" long after, as Dr. Oken, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Wilſon, &c." 157

This ſubſcription following was made by the hand of John Redman, S. T. P. in this very convocation, who, being abſent this ſeſſion, (for his name is not among the 53,) was deſired to declare his own ſenſe in this point under his own hand, being ſo learned a man, and in ſuch great credit univerſally for his ability in deciding queſtions of conſcience. Dr. Redman's judgment of prieſts' marriage.

" I think that although the word of God do exhort and
" counſel prieſts to live in chaſtity, out of the cumber of
" the fleſh and the world, that thereby they may the more
" wholly attend to their calling: yet the band of containing
" from marriage doth only lie upon prieſts of this realm
" by reaſon of canons and conſtitutions of the church, and
" not by any precept of God's word; as in that they ſhould
" be bound by reaſon of any vow, which, in as far as my
" conſcience is, prieſts in this church of England do not
" make: I think that it ſtandeth well with God's word, that
" a man which hath been, or is but once married, being
" otherwiſe accordingly qualified, may be made a prieſt.
" And I think that foraſmuch as canons and rules made in
" this behalf be neither univerſal nor everlaſting, but upon
" conſideration may be altered and changed: therefore the
" King's Majeſty, and the higher powers of the church,
" may, upon ſuch reaſons as ſhall move them, take away
" the clog of perpetual continency from the prieſts; and grant
" that it may be lawful to ſuch as cannot, or will not, con-
" tain, to marry one wife. And if ſhe die, then the ſaid prieſt
" to marry no more, remaining ſtill in his miniſtration."

Some larger account of this memorable convocation, eſpecially as to ſome of theſe matters then under their hands, may be read in Biſhop Stillingfleet's Irenicum, publiſhed by him from a manuſcript volume once belonging to Archbiſhop Cranmer. Irenic. p. 387.

In this convocation the Archbiſhop bore the great ſway; and what things were agitated herein, were chiefly by his motion and direction: ſome whereof were turned into laws by the parliament, that was now ſitting, through his active- The Archbiſhop's influence on the parliament.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

nefs and influence. As particularly that repeal of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles, and of ſome other ſevere laws, decreeing divers things treaſon and felony, made in the former King's reign. For when the Archbiſhop in the convocation had made a ſpeech to the clergy, exhorting them to give themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and to conſider what things in the church needed reformation, that ſo the church might be diſcharged of all popiſh traſh, not yet thrown out; ſome told him, that, as long as the ſix Articles remained, it was not ſafe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council: upon which they ordered this act of repeal.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 40.

The communion in both kinds eſtabliſhed.

By his means alſo another great thing, moved in the convocation, was now ratified, and made a law by this parliament: which was, for the adminiſtration of the communion under both kinds throughout the kingdom of England and Ireland. And upon this the King appointed certain grave and learned biſhops, and others, to aſſemble at Windſor-caſtle, there to treat and confer together; and to conclude upon and ſet forth one perfect and uniform order of communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the uſe of the primitive church. And this being framed, it was enjoined to be uſed throughout the realm by a proclamation, and all required to receive it with due reverence.

Fox.

158

The Archbiſhop's queries concerning the maſs.

I meet with a writing of the Archbiſhop, without date, conſiſting of queries concerning the maſs, in order to the aboliſhing it, and changing it into a communion. Which I know not where ſo well to place as here, now the convocation was employed upon this matter: for it ſeems to have been drawn up by the Archbiſhop on purpoſe to be laid before the conſideration of this houſe. The queries were theſe.

"What or wherein John, faſting, giving alms, being bap-
"tized, or receiving the ſacrament of the altar in England,
"doth profit and avail Thomas, dwelling in Italy, and not
"knowing what John in England doth?

"Whether it profit them that be in heaven, and where-
"in?

"Whether it lieth in the faſter, giver of alms, receiver of
"the ſacrament, him that is baptized, to defraud any mem-
"ber of Chriſt's body of the benefit of faſting, alms-deeds,

" baptiſm, or receiving of the ſacrament; and to apply the " ſame benefit to one perſon more than to another.

" What thing is the preſentation of the body and blood " of Chriſt in the maſs, which you call the oblation and ſa- " crifice of Chriſt? And wherein ſtandeth it in act, geſture, " or word; and in what act, geſture, or word?

" Is there any rite or prayer, and expreſſed in the Scrip- " ture, which Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt inſtitu- " tion of the maſs, which we be now bound to uſe; and " what the ſame be?

" Whether in the primitive church there were any prieſts " that lived by ſaying of maſs, mattens, and even-ſong, and " praying for ſouls, only? And where any ſuch ſtate of " prieſthood be allowed in the Scriptures, or be meet to be " allowed now?

" For what cauſe were it not expedient nor convenient to " have the whole maſs in the Engliſh tongue?

" Wherein conſiſteth the maſs by Chriſt's inſtitution?

" What time the accuſtomed order began firſt in the " church, that the prieſts alone ſhould receive the ſacra- " ment?

" Whether it be convenient that the ſame cuſtom continue " ſtill within this realm?

" Whether it be convenient that maſſes ſatisfactory ſhould " continue; that is to ſay, prieſts hired to ſing for ſouls de- " parted?

" Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught at the time of " the maſs to the underſtanding of the people being pre- " ſent?

" Whether in the maſs it were convenient to uſe ſuch " ſpeech as the people may underſtand?"

To proceed to ſome other things wherein our Archbiſhop was this year concerned. In June the church of St. Paul's was hanged with black, and a ſumptuous hearſe ſet up in the choir, and a *Dirige* there ſung for the French King, who deceaſed the March precedent. And on the next day the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted with eight biſhops more, all in rich mitres, and their other pontificals, did ſing a maſs of requiem; and the Biſhop of Rocheſter preached a funeral ſermon.

The Archbiſhop aſſiſts at the funeral of the French King.

159

Stow.

BOOK II.

Anno 1547.

The Marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the Archbishop.

A nice matter was now put by the council to the Archbishop, having some other bishops and learned men joined with him, to the number of ten. The case was, "Whether "a man divorced from his wife for her adultery might not "lawfully marry again?" This was propounded upon the account of a great man in those times, namely, the brother of Queen Katherine Par, Marquis of Northampton; who had gotten a divorce from his wife, the daughter of Bourchier Earl of Essex, for adultery. The canon law would not allow marrying again upon a divorce, making divorce to be only a separation from bed and board, and not a dissolving the knot of marriage. This was a great question depending among the civilians: and it being committed to the determination of our Archbishop, and some other delegates, (though the Marquis staid not for their resolution, but in this interval married Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord Brook,) he searched so diligently into the Scriptures first, and then into the opinions of fathers and doctors, that his collections swelled into a volume, yet remaining in the hands of a learned bishop of this realm; the sum whereof is digested by the Bishop of Sarum. Cranmer seemed to allow of marriage in the innocent person.

Bishop of Wigorn. Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 56.

Processions forbid by his means.

He was a means also to the council of forbidding processions: wherein the people carried candles on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday; because he saw they were used so much to superstition, and looked like festivals to the Heathen gods. So that this year on Candlemas-day, the old custom of bearing candles in the church, and, on Ash-Wednesday following, giving ashes in the church, was left off through the whole city of London.

Stow.

Examines the offices of the church.

He was a member of a committee this winter, appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to consider where they needed reformation, and accordingly to reform them. Of this commission were most of the bishops, and several others of the most learned divines in the nation. And a new office for the communion was by them prepared, and by authority set forth, as was observed before; and received all over England.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1547.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop's Catechiſm.

The Archbiſhop puts forth a Catechiſm.

THIS year the Archbiſhop put forth a very uſeful Catechiſm, intituled, *A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular Profit of Children and young People.* This Catechiſm went not by way of queſtion and anſwer, but contained an eaſy expoſition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the two Sacraments. The 160
firſt and ſecond Commandments were put together as one, and the whole recital of the ſecond omitted, according to the uſe in thoſe times: but that Commandment is explained under the firſt. The ſubſtance of this book is grave, ſerious, and ſound doctrine. It is ſaid in the title page "to "be overſeen and corrected by the Archbiſhop." Indeed it was a catechiſm wrote originally in the German language, for the uſe of the younger ſort in Norinberg; tranſlated into Latin by Juſtus Jonas, junior, who now was entertained by the Archbiſhop in his family, and thence turned into our vulgar tongue by the ſaid Archbiſhop, or his ſpecial order. But it is certain, ſo great a hand he had therein, that in the Archbiſhop's firſt book of the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was "tranſlated by himſelf, and ſet forth." Biſhop Gardiner, in his book againſt the Archbiſhop, takes advantage of two things in this Catechiſm againſt him, as though he himſelf, when he put it forth, was of the opinion of the corporal preſence. The one was a picture that ſtood before the book, where was an altar with candles lighted, and the prieſt appareled after the old ſort, putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth. The other is an expreſſion or two uſed ſomewhere in the book, "That with our bodily mouths "we receive the body and blood of Chriſt:" and, "that in "the ſacrament we receive truly the body and blood of "Chriſt:" and, "this we muſt believe, if we will be counted "chriſtian men." But to both Cranmer, in his next book againſt Gardiner, made anſwer, "That as for the picture, it "was that was ſet before the Dutch edition of the book, and "ſo none of his doing; but that he afterwards cauſed the po-

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"pish picture to be altered into a picture representing Christ "eating his last supper with his disciples. As for the expres- "sions," he said, "he taught, that we in the sacrament do re- "ceive the body and blood of Christ spiritually; and, that "the words *really* and *substantially* were not used, but *truly*." And in his answer to Dr. Richard Smith's preface, wrote against the said Archbishop, who it seems had twitted him also with this Catechism, he spake largely of these his expressions in his own vindication.

And a book against Unwritten Verities.

There was another book of the Archbishop's against Unwritten Verities, which I do by conjecture place here, as put forth under this year, or near this time: which I suppose Dr. Smith nibbled at in his book of Traditions, which this year he recanted. The book was in Latin, and consisted only of allegations out of the Bible and ancient writers. In Queen Mary's days the book was again published by an English exile, naming himself E. P. The title it now bore was, *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities, by divers Authorities, diligently and truly gathered out of the Holy Scripture and Ancient Fathers; by Tho. Cranmer, late Archbishop, and burned at Oxford for the Defence of the true Doctrine of our Saviour. Translated and set forth by E. P.* Before it is a preface of the translator to his countrymen and brethren in England. In it he lamented the woful state of things in England, by the restoring of popery, and the persecution of protestants there; and showed what a kind of man the chief bishop then in England, *viz.* Cardinal Pool, was, who in the last King's reign went from prince to prince, to excite them to make war against his own prince and country.

161

This treatise is but a bare collection of places of holy Scripture, and ancient fathers, to prove, "That the canon of "the Bible is a true, and sound, and perfect doctrine, con- "taining all things necessary to salvation: that neither the "writing of the old fathers, without the word of God, nor "general councils, nor the oracles of angels, nor apparitions "from the dead, nor customs, can be sufficient in religion "to establish doctrine, or maintain new articles of faith." Then reasons are given against unwritten verities, and the places of holy Scripture, and other writers, which the Papists bring to maintain unwritten verities, are answered. At last the

objections of the Papiſts are confuted, in a concluding chapter. Which laſt part was not writ by the Archbiſhop, but by the tranſlator. For relating here the ſtory of the holy maid of Kent, he ſaith, ſhe was examined by Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And at laſt he ſaith, "I have plainly and fully anſwered to all that I remember "the Papiſts do, or can allege by writing, preaching, or "reaſoning, for the defence of their unwritten verities; on "which they build ſo many deteſtable idolatries and he-"reſies. But yet, if any be able to anſwer ſo plainly and "truly to the Scriptures, authorities, and reaſons rehearſed "by me, as I have done to theirs, and to prove their "doctrines by as plain teſtimonies and reaſons as I have "done mine, I ſhall not only acknowledge my ignorance "and error, but I ſhall gladly return into England, recant "my hereſies, &c." Hence it is plain, that the concluſion of the book, as well as the preface, was writ by the tranſlator. CHAP. V. Anno 1547.

I will add one paſſage taken out of this book, about the middle, whereby it may be ſeen what a clergy was now in England. Having quoted the canons of the Apoſtles, *Let not a biſhop or deacon put away his wife, &c.* he makes a heavy complaint againſt the frequent practice of beaſtly ſins in the prieſts, adultery, ſodomy, &c. and that they never were puniſhed. "And in my memory," as he proceeds, "which is above thirty years, and alſo by the information "of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could "never learn that one prieſt was puniſhed." Can. 3.

This is ſome account of the care he took for the church in general as metropolitan. But he had a particular care of his own dioceſe, now his power was not checked, as it was in the former reign, eſpecially of the city of Canterbury; which had been formerly the backwardeſt in religion of any other place of his dioceſe. He ſupplied this city with ſtore of excellent learned preachers, Turner, the two Ridleys, Becon, Beſely, and John Joſeph, who this year went along with the King's viſitors, as one of their preachers. Theſe converted not a few to ſincere religion; as may appear by thoſe numbers of Canterbury that in Queen Mary's reign ſuffered the torment of fire for their profeſſion of the Goſpel. His care of Canterbury.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

But in that reign all the preachers fled, ſo that there was ſcarce one remaining in the city: which was looked upon as a particular ſign of God's diſpleaſure againſt that place, becauſe the profeſſors there, and others, reformed not themſelves according to thoſe opportunities of grace, which God had put into their hands. And ſo I find in a letter to them, wrote by ſome eminent perſon in priſon in Queen Mary's reign: "Alas! how few faithful ſervants hath the "Lord of life in theſe troubleſome days within Canterbury, "to whom above all other people, in compariſon of multi- "tude, he hath ſent moſt plenteouſly his word, in the mouths "of moſt excellent preachers. But even as the people were "negligent, hard-hearted, nothing willing to take the "lively word unto their defence againſt the world, the "devil, and the fleſh——even ſo hath he permitted the "ſame preachers to be diſperſed, that not one of them "ſhould be a comfortable example to ſuch an unkind "people."

162

Fox's MSS.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Univerſity.

The Archbiſhop's influence upon the univerſity.

THE Archbiſhop was a great patron of all ſolid learning, being a very learned man himſelf. And knowing very well how much the *libertas philoſophandi*, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting of the groſs errors and frauds of popery, which could ſubſiſt only in the thick darkneſs of ignorance; theſe things made him always caſt a favourable aſpect upon the univerſities, and eſpecially that of Cambridge, whereof he himſelf was once a member: which the governors, and the reſt of the gremials, very well knew, and therefore did frequently apply to him, as often as they had need of the favour of the court or parliament. Roger Aſcham, Fellow of St. John's College, and one of the florideſt wits of this univerſity, and who ſuc-

ceeded Sir John Cheke in reading the Greek lecture, said of him in a letter he sent him, (wherein he styled him *Literarum decus et ornamentum*,) "That he was the man "who was accustomed to express great joy at the good "progress of learning, such was his singular good-will "towards it; and when it went otherwise than well with it, "he alone could apply a remedy; such was his sway and "authority." And so much was he the known Mecænas of learning, that according to the public encouragement or prejudice it received, so the vulgar accounted the praise or dispraise thereof to redound upon Cranmer. So that if learning were discountenanced, it was esteemed to cast some disparagement upon him; if it flourished, it was a sign that Cranmer prevailed at court. For to that purpose do those words of the said Ascham to the Archbishop, in another letter, seem to tend: *Nulla hoc tempore literis vel insperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere potest, cujus tu non aut author, ad magnam commendationem, aut particeps ad aliquam reprehensionem, voce ac sermone omnium jactatus eris.* CHAP. VI. Anno 1547.

In this year 1547, and in the month of October, there fell out an accident in St. John's College in Cambridge, which made those of that college that favoured learning and religion (as that house was the chief nursery thereof in that university) judge it highly necessary to apply themselves to the Archbishop, to divert a storm from them. The case was this; a French lad of this college, cizer to one Mr. Stafford there, had one night, in hatred to the mass, secretly cut the string, whereby the pix hung above the altar in the chapel. The like to which was indeed done in other places of the nation by some zealous persons, who began this year, without any warrant, to pull down crucifixes and images out of the churches: as was particularly done in St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London. This affront to the popish service made a great noise in the college: and the sober party among them feared the ill effect it might have upon the whole college, either to its disparagement or prejudice, when the news of it should come to court; especially by the means of such who stomached much the decay and downfal of superstition, and endeavoured what in them lay to obscure and eclipse the rising light of Some of St. John's College apply to him upon the apprehension of a danger. 163

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

the Gospel. Therefore, after the matter had been taken into examination by themselves, quietly and without tumult, they thought fit, by consent, to acquaint the Archbishop with it in a letter; which one of their members, Thomas Lever, a learned and grave man, carried; who likewise should inform him of all circumstances: and so committed both the cause and person to his Grace's judgment and censure. But withal letting him know, that the youth was well learned, and before this had carried himself quietly and modestly; and that Mr. Stafford, who was a great student, could not tell how to be without him: but however, such was his prudence, that he was willing to leave his scholar and his fault to the Archbishop's discretion. By which message they warily avoided the odium of this action, as though they had countenanced any violent or illegal methods for the removal of superstition, before it were done by public authority; and likewise rescued their scholar from expulsion, or too rigorous punishment, which some in the college would have been apt to inflict upon him, had not the matter been thus prudently removed from them.

Offended with some of this college, and why.

Let me here insert another matter that happened the year after in the same college; whereat divers took occasion so to represent it to our Archbishop, as to create in him, as much as they could, an ill opinion of the better sort of the members thereof. About November or December, in the year 1548, some of the college got this question to be disputed in the chapel concerning the mass, *Ipsane cœna dominica fuerit, necne?* It was handled with great learning by two learned fellows of the house, Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinson. The noise of this soon spread in the university; and many were much displeased at it. At last Ascham, being a very fit person to undertake it, was prevailed with by the rest to bring this question out of the private walls of the college, into the public schools: yet, as was pretended, with this mind and meaning, not dogmatically to assert any thing, but modestly and freely to learn from learned men what could be fetched out of the holy Scriptures to defend the mass, which had taken up, not only the chiefest place in religion, and men's consciences, but took away in effect all the use and benefit of the faithful ministry of the word and

164

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1547.

facraments from chriſtians. This buſineſs they ſet about with quietneſs; they conferred their common ſtudies together, propounded to themſelves the canonical Scriptures, by the authority whereof they wiſhed the whole might be decided: they took alſo along with them, concerning this matter, the ancient canons of the early church, the councils of fathers, the decrees of popes, the judgments of doctors, the great plenty of queſtioniſts, all the modern authors, both German and Roman. But this deſign of theirs was not only the ſubject of talk in the univerſity, but noted in the public ſermons; and ſuch labour there was among ſome in oppoſition to it, that Dr. Madew, then Vicechancellor, was prevailed with by his letters to forbid the diſputation. They obeyed, but took it hardly that they might not as well diſpute in favour of the queſtion, as others might preach as much as they would againſt it. But it ended not here; for their adverſaries induſtriouſly carried the report hereof to our prelate, and did ſo blacken the buſineſs by their ſlanders, and loud and tragical clamours, that he became ſomewhat offended with the undertakers. Theſe on the other hand, no queſtion, applied themſelves to him with their juſt defence: and not only to him, but to others, and particularly to Mr. Cecyl, one formerly their colleague, who was now Maſter of Requeſts to the Protector, letting him know the whole matter; that he might upon occaſion repreſent the cauſe the more favourably to the Archbiſhop. And Aſcham himſelf was their ſcribe; whoſe epiſtle, penned in a handſome Latin ſtyle, being not extant among his printed epiſtles, and being ſubſervient to the hiſtory of the univerſity in thoſe times, I have thought worthy to be inſerted among the originals. In this letter he charged the other party as well with malice as ignorance: for this their queſtion was very agreeable to Thomas Aquinas, who proved that the maſs exceeded the Lord's ſupper in many prerogatives, and much differed from it by many notes; as, women, children, baſtards, maimed perſons, were not allowed to partake of the maſs, but they were received to the holy ſupper. So that ſhould any ſay (as he proceeds in his letter) that the maſs and the ſupper were the ſame, they might exclaim againſt them much more. Their adverſaries had charged

Num. XXXVII.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

them with being too raſh, in not ſtaying for what reformation the ſtate ſhould make: but he ſaid, that all Cambridge wanted rather ſpurs to put them forward, than a bridle to keep them back. But though their diſpute were prohibited, yet their ſtudies upon the ſame argument had in a manner increaſed; having now written a juſt treatiſe of the maſs, which they intended ſhortly to preſent to the Protector; and waited only for Cecyl's and Cheke's advice therein. But I muſt beg pardon of the reader for this excurſion.

The ill condition and low eſtate of the univerſity.

And as I have given an inſtance or two of the private addreſs of a particular college to him in a particular caſe, ſo I will ſubjoin another more public of the univerſity in general. In the year above ſaid, being the firſt year of the King, the univerſity laboured under the fears of the encroachments of the town upon their privileges, and likewiſe under great ſuſpicions of being ſpoiled of its revenues, or at leaſt of having them much diminiſhed; ſhe having obſerved how
165 thoſe of her ſiſter, the church, were daily invaded by ſecular hands. Theſe fears put Cambridge now in a decaying ſtate, and the ſtudies of good literature began to be but little minded. Add alſo hereunto, that eccleſiaſtical preferments, which formerly were the peculiar rewards of academics, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere unlearned laymen. So the Earl of Hartford held a deanery, a treaſurerſhip of a cathedral church, and four of the beſt prebends; and his ſon three hundred pounds a year out of a biſhoprick. And learned men were ſeldom taken notice of, or had honours conferred on them; and if they obtained any rewards, they were but ſmall. Nor were ſcholars now in any repute or value: ſo that neither poor nor rich abode long at their ſtudies in the univerſity, to attain to any conſiderable degrees of learning. The poor could not, becauſe the encouragements there were ſcarce capable to maintain them; and the richer ſort would not, chooſing rather to follow ſome other courſe, becauſe of the obſcure and neglected condition learning then lay under. The grammar ſchools alſo became diſuſed, parents chooſing any other calling for their children, rather than to bring them up to letters: as Roger Aſcham, a man that well knew the ſtate of the univerſity, complains in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton. This was the

Hiſt. Reform. Part ii. p. 8.

cauſe that the ſaid Aſcham penſively thus writ unto our Archbiſhop not long after. "That the univerſity was then "in ſo depreſſed and drooping a condition, that very few "had hope of coming thither at all, and fewer had any "comfort to make long tarrying when they were there: "and that abroad it retained not ſo much as the ſhadow of "its ancient dignity." CHAP. VI. Anno 1547.

At this low ebb the univerſity now was, when King Edward the Sixth came to the ſceptre. But there being a parliament this year in the month of November, the chief officers thereof thought it adviſable however to prevent it, if they could, from ſinking lower, and to keep at leaſt what they had, by getting their ancient privileges confirmed by that parliament. And for this purpoſe they writ their earneſt letters to the Archbiſhop: John Madew their Vicechancellor, the bearer, urging to him, "not only that it was a "thing uſual at the beginning of Princes' reigns, to ſhew "that favour to the univerſity to have their privileges re-"newed by parliament; but chiefly, that the favour his "Grace ſhould do to it would be a true piece of ſervice to "the religion which he had ſuch a tender care of. That "every one knew how much it concerned the common-"wealth that account ſhould be made of learning; but how "much it concerned the pure religion, (as they ſtyled that "of the reformation,) he alone did conſider above all others. "That he knew how that about five hundred years paſt, or "more, the knowledge of letters, by the fault of Kings, "who ought to have cheriſhed it, began to withdraw itſelf "from men, and to hide itſelf in darkneſs. In which dark "times, ſo involved in ignorance, that notable wild boar out "of the wood ſpoiled the vineyard of Chriſt above meaſure: "not only treading down the kings of the earth, and con-"ferring upon himſelf the empire of the world, but ſo in-"vaded and broke into the holy ſeat and temple of conſci-"ence, that now there were ſcarce any manners of men, "any courſe of life, any rite of ceremonies, any ſacrament 166
"of the church, any footſtep of Chriſt, which were not ei-"their laid waſte by his thunder, or defiled by his breath: "or, to ſpeak in milder, but more ſignificant terms with St. "Paul, which were not moſt foully corrupted and adulte-

An addreſs of the univerſity to the Archbiſhop.

The ſum thereof.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"rated by the wiſdom of human will-worſhip. That it was "this night of diſcipline, and want of knowledge, which "robbed us of God's word, and advanced the empire of "man's doctrine to that arbitrary height, that, inſtead of the "true worſhip of God, the right uſing of things divine, a "holy and pure courſe of life; hypocriſy, idolatry, and "adultery were moſt cunningly conveyed and brought in. "That they did the more willingly mention this peſt of ig-"norance, conceiving great hope that the honour of learning "would be reſtored anew, now when all things tended in a "wonderful manner to the illuſtrating of true religion, "which good learning did neceſſarily accompany. And "that ſince God had now raiſed him up on purpoſe for the "reſtoring of the Goſpel, and had ſo long reſerved him for "that end, they doubted not but he would give all his pains "and authority to preſerve the welfare of learning. And "that ſomewhat for this reaſon, becauſe at that time there "could happen no calamity or advantage thereunto, but "every man would be apt either to charge him with the "blame of the one, or attribute to him the praiſe of the "other." This eloquent letter, indited by the pen of Aſcham, then the univerſity orator, having ſome remarkable paſſages of the ſtate of the univerſity at that time, and of the great ſway the Archbiſhop then carried in the public, and the marvellous good-will he was eſteemed to bear towards learning, I have therefore placed in the Appendix, though printed before.

Num. XXXVIII.

The ſucceſs of the univerſity's addreſs to him and others.

This favour of having their privileges confirmed, ſued for in the forementioned letter, the univerſity then got, partly by the means of their cordial patron the Archbiſhop, and partly by the interceſſion and friendſhip of Queen Katherine Par, a great favourer of learning and pure religion, of Wriotheſly Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Paget; to all whom at that time they addreſſed their letters: whether it were out of fear of the difficulty of getting the thing done, or to take this opportunity to obtain the countenance of the great men of the court.

Another addreſs to him againſt the townſmen.

Some time after, upon another occaſion, the heads of the univerſity made another application to their patron the

Archbiſhop; which was, to befriend them at court againſt the townſmen, their old enemies, who were now wreſting from them one of their ancient undoubted privileges; namely, the uſe of the priſons of the Tollbooth and caſtle. The occaſion was this: in the time of Sturbridge fair, the proctors, upon great complaints made to them, going their rounds one night, had taken certain evil perſons in houſes of ſin, and had brought them to the Tollbooth, in order to the commitment of them there. But having ſent to the Mayor for the keys, he abſolutely refuſed to part with them. So they were fain to carry their priſoners to the caſtle, where they left them in cuſtody. But the Mayor's ſon, after an hour or two, let them all out, to return, if they pleaſed, to their former lewdneſs; to the breach of law, and affront of the magiſtrate. Upon this the univerſity ſent their letters to the Archbiſhop, making certain of their grave members the bearers, to relate the matter more fully; earneſtly requiring that ſuch inſolence might be puniſhed: and that the King and his council would make ſuch men feel what it was to violate laws, and to cheriſh impunity, and to break their oaths, which they had taken to maintain the univerſity privileges. They urged to him, "how ſerviceable and ready "their univerſity had been to him in his pious labours and "counſels, in eſtabliſhing the true doctrine in the church; "and what fit and worthy men they had ſent him for his aſ-"ſiſtance in that good work. In like manner they required "and expected of him, that their dignity might be main-"tained and preſerved by his aid and authority. That the "univerſity was then but in a low condition, and that "abroad it ſcarcely retained the ſhadow of its former glory. "But if at home, and within itſelf, the bonds and ſinews of "its ſafety ſhould thus be cut, as not to have a power to "reſtrain vice by impriſonment, what could the kingdom, "religion, and the King's Majeſty hope for any more from "that univerſity? They inculcated, how learning and the "true religion riſe and fall together; and that if it went "otherwiſe than well with the one, the other would feel "the ſmart of it. And truly," ſay they, "no remarkable "damage can light upon the ſtudies of learning, which by "the ſame motion draws not along with it the true religion

CHAP. VI. Anno 1547. 167

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"into the ſame cataſtrophe." And theſe conſiderations they made uſe of, to excite his Grace to aſſiſt them in vindicating their privileges, and in having that groſs infringement of them puniſhed. Upon the ſame occaſion they wrote their letters alſo to Sir William Paget, a great friend of theirs, and eminent patron of good learning. What the iſſue of theſe applications was, I find not; but may conclude, they received a ſucceſs proportionable to the good will and authority of thoſe to whom they were made.

Roger Aſcham's application to him for a diſpenſation for eating fleſh.

And as the whole body of the univerſity knew what favour our prelate bore to it, ſo every ſingle ingenious member confided in him, and applied to him in their needs. Roger Aſcham, the univerſity orator, whom I had occaſion to mention before, was a man of a weak conſtitution, and had contracted more frailty by reaſon of a long ague that then hung about him, and his complexion became melancholy by the relicts of that ſtubborn diſtemper. He had alſo in his nature a great averſeneſs to the fiſh-diet. Upon theſe reaſons he addreſſed his letters to the Archbiſhop with an humble ſuit, very handſomely penned, that he might be diſpenſed with as to abſtinence from fleſh-meats, Lent and fiſh-days, being then ſtrictly obſerved in the colleges. And this licence he deſired might be not only temporary, but perpetual, as long as he lived; which was ſomewhat extraordinary. But to incline the Archbiſhop to yield to his ſuit, he told him, "That it was not to pamper his fleſh, nor "out of an affectation of doing that which was unuſual, or "againſt common cuſtom, but only for the preſerving his "health, and that he might the more freely purſue his "ſtudies." He added, "That the air of Cambridge was
168 "naturally cold and moiſt, and ſo the fiſh-diet the more "unwholeſome. He deſired therefore, that by his authority "he might no longer be tied by that tradition, which for-"bad the uſe of certain meats at certain times." He ſaid, "That thoſe who granted this liberty to none but ſuch as "laboured under a deſperate diſeaſe, did like them who "never repaired their houſes but when they were juſt ready "to fall down by age. Thrifty houſekeepers did other-"wiſe: ſo did ſkilful phyſicians, who did not uſe to pre-"ſcribe their phyſic when it was too late, but always put a

"ſtop to beginnings. That they who never would impart "the uſing of this liberty (of eating fleſh) to any, but when "all health was deſpaired of, knew not what good a pru- "dent foreſight did in all commonwealths, and did too in- "ſolently abuſe a good thing beſtowed upon us by God, "when little or no uſe at all could be made of it. Nay, "that ſuch a good was no good at all, being external, but "in that reſpect only, as there might ſome uſe be made of "it. That we ought not therefore unprofitably to abuſe "food to diſeaſes that are deſperate, but to accommodate it "to the preſervation of health. And ſo did St. Paul com- "mand, *Therefore I exhort you to take ſome food, for this "is for your health.*" Then he ſubjoins a paſſage of Herodotus in his Euterpe, concerning the Egyptian prieſts, from whom iſſued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always converſant in learned ſtudies. Theſe, ſaith that author, religiouſly tied themſelves ever to abſtain from all eating of fiſh. "No doubt for this only cauſe," ſaith Aſcham; "*Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præſtantia, ullo "ſi frigido ſucco, quem eſus piſcium ingeneraret, extingueretur.* "That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality "in them, might not be quenched by ſome cold juice, "which the eating of fiſh might engender. And that it "was ſomewhat unjuſt," he adds, "that when ſo many "kinds of ſuperſtition flowed in ſuch a plentiful meaſure "from the Egyptians, as might eaſily be proved, and thence "derived themſelves, firſt to the Greeks, then to the Ro- "mans, and afterwards to our times, through that ſink "of popery, that that ſingle worthy counſel and remedy of "thoſe moſt learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and "ſpreading of learning, ſhould be debarred us to follow; "and that by ſuch as were either unlearned themſelves, "or ſuperſtitious men: whereby the beſt wits received "ſo great prejudice and damage. That none knew better "than his Lordſhip whence this cuſtom aroſe, by whom "cheriſhed, and by what kind of men brought down to "us. And, laſtly, how unwholeſome and unfit all eating of "fiſh was in the ſpring-time. And that he might obtain "this favour, he would uſe it without giving offence, or

BOOK II.

"making any common ſpeech of it, with quietneſs and "ſilence, with abſtinence and thankſgiving."

Anno 1547. Favourably granted by the Archbiſhop.

This letter he got his friend Poinet, the Archbiſhop's chaplain, (the ſame I ſuppoſe who after was Biſhop of Wincheſter,) to put into his Grace's hand, and to further his requeſt what he could. The iſſue whereof was to his heart's deſire: for though the Archbiſhop knew him not, nor was eaſily drawn to diſpenſe with the church's ancient diſcipline and rites; yet he received his ſuit with all hu-
169 manity; and ſuch he found to be the modeſty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requeſted to be grounded upon ſuch reaſonable and juſt cauſes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a licence of that latitude, to diſcharge a perſon for all time to come from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the cenſure he might incur if he ſhould have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of law rather than religion, he put himſelf to the trouble of procuring the King's licence under the Privy Seal for this man: and when he had done that, conſidering an academic's poverty, he releaſed him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himſelf: and ſo conveyed it to him by Dr. Tayler, the Maſter of his college.

The Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent.

And indeed the Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Aſcham's requeſt: for he held the keeping of Lent as founded in a poſitive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it neceſſary that ſo the people ſhould be taught and inſtructed. As appears by his articles of viſitation in the ſecond year of King Edward: one whereof ran thus; "That inquiry ſhould be "made, whether the curates had declared, and to their wit "and power had perſuaded the people, that the manner and "kind of faſting in Lent, and other days in the year, was "but a mere poſitive law: and that therefore all perſons, "having juſt cauſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſity, or being "licenſed by the King's Majeſty, may moderately eat all "kind of meat, without grudge or ſcruple of conſcience."

Aſcham acquaints him with the

The ſame Aſcham, knowing well how the Archbiſhop's mind ſtood affected to Cambridge, his old nurſe, and how

well he wished it for the sake of religion, acquainted him with the state of the university about the beginning of King Edward's reign, and the course of the studies that were then used. "That there were very many began to affect the study "of divinity." [A new study, it seems, then; the Pope's laws and the schoolmen having before employed the heads of almost all.] "That the doctrines of original sin and "predestination were much canvassed: but many went "rather according to Pighius, highly applauding him, than "according to St. Augustin, though he exceeded all others "that either went before, or followed after him, for the "excellency of his wit and learning, and the greatness of "his industry and opportunities. That others among them "made the reading of God's word their daily exercise: and "for the helping their understandings in the sense of it, "they made use of, and adhered to, the judgment of St. "Augustin chiefly; and studied hard the tongues. The "knowledge of languages began to be affected: and such "as studied them were reckoned the best masters; as qualify-"ing them best for teaching of others, or understanding "themselves. That for oratory, they plied Plato and Ari-"stotle; from whose fountains among the Greeks, *loquens "illa prudentia*, (as he styled oratory,) *that speaking prudence* "might be fetched. And to these among the Latins they "added Cicero. They conversed also in Herodotus, Thu-"cydides, and Xenophon, the three lights of chronology, "truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great "lustre to their other studies. The Greek poets, which "they took delight in, were Homer, Sophocles, and Euripi- 170
"des; the one the fountain, the two others the streams, "of all eloquence and learned poetry: which, they were "of opinion, did more largely water their other studies "than Terence or Virgil; which in some former years "were chiefly read." Thus was the method of university studies altered (so much for the better) from reading the schoolmen, and metaphysical niceties, the Pope's canons and decretals, to converse in politer and more manly learning, which tended so much to solid knowledge, and preparation of men's minds to the entertainment of the Gospel.

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1547.

present state of the university, as to their studies. Epistol. libro 2.

BOOK II.

Anno 1547.

Sir John Cheke, the Archbiſhop's dear friend, the prime inſtrument of politer ſtudies there.

The great ſetter on foot of this ingenuous learning in the univerſity was Sir John Cheke, of St. John's College, now preferred to be the King's tutor; a perſon for whom the Archbiſhop had a very tender love and affectionate kindneſs. For ſo Aſcham writ to him in his former letter: "That "many had addicted themſelves to this courſe of ſtudy by "the aid and conduct, example and counſel, of that excellent "man: and that they bore the better his going from "them to the court, who had brought them on in ſo good "a courſe, becauſe they knew their diſprofit was abun-"dantly recompenſed by the profit and ſafety that would "accrue to the whole commonwealth by him." Applying that of Plato to him, *Plurimum reipublicæ intereſſe, ut unus aliquis exiſtat ſemper præſtans excellenſque vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, induſtria, ſtudio, et ſpe erecti, totos ſeſe effingant et accommodent.*

The impediments of the univerſity's flouriſhing ſtate laid before him.

Afterwards he acquainted the moſt reverend perſon, to whom he wrote, with thoſe things which proved great hindrances to the flouriſhing eſtate of the univerſity; that by his counſel and authority, if poſſible, they might be redreſſed. And they were two. "The one was, that they "wanted elderly men, very few ſuch remaining among "them, by whoſe example the younger ſort might be ex-"cited to ſtudy, and by whoſe authority the manners of "the reſt might be rightly formed and faſhioned. The "other impediment was occaſioned by ſuch as were ad-"mitted: who were for the moſt part only the ſons of rich "men, and ſuch as never intended to purſue their ſtudies to "that degree as to arrive at any eminent proficiency and "perfection in learning, but only the better to qualify "themſelves for ſome places in the ſtate, by a ſlighter and "more ſuperficial knowledge. The injury accruing thence "to the univerſity was double; both becauſe, by this means, "all hope of ripe and completed learning was immaturely "cut off in the very bud; and alſo all the expectations of "the poorer ſort, whoſe whole time was ſpent in good "ſtudies, was eluded by theſe drones occupying thoſe places "and preferments which more properly belonged unto "them: for parts, learning, poverty, and election, were of

" no ſtrength at home, where favour and countenance, and " the letters of noblemen, and ſuch-like extraordinary and " illegal courſes from abroad, bore all the ſway." CHAP. VI. Anno 1547.

CHAP. VII. 171

Dr. Smith and others recant.

AND now, before I conclude this year, let me paſs from more public matters, and preſent the reader with two or three paſſages, wherein the Archbiſhop had to do with private men.

May the 15th, Richard Smith, D. D. Maſter of Whitting- Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Croſs. ton College, and reader of divinity in Oxford, a hot turbulent man, made his recantation at Paul's Croſs, convinced and moved thereunto by the pains of the Archbiſhop. What his errors were, that he had publicly vented in the univerſity, and in his writings, may be known by the words of his recantation, which were theſe:

" I do confeſs and acknowledge, that the authority, as " well of the Biſhop of Rome, whoſe authority is juſtly and " lawfully aboliſhed in this realm, as of other biſhops, and " others called the miniſters of the church, conſiſteth in the " diſpenſation and miniſtration of God's word, and not in " making laws, ordinances, and decrees over the people, " beſides God's word, without the conſent and authority of " the prince and people. I ſay and affirm, that within this " realm of England, and other the King's dominions, there " is no law, decree, ordinance, or conſtitution eccleſiaſtical, " in force, and available by any man's authority, but only " by the King's Majeſty's authority, or of his parliament."

This man had wrote two books in favour of popiſh His books. doctrine; and thoſe he alſo now diſclaimed, *viz.* A book of traditions, and another of the ſacrifice of the maſs. In the former of which he maintained, "That Chriſt and his Apoſtles " taught and left to the church many things without writ- " ing; which," he aſſerted, "were ſtedfaſtly to be believed, " and obediently fulfilled, under pain of damnation." In the

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

other book he maintained, "that Chriſt was not a prieſt "after the order of Melchizedeck, when he offered himſelf "upon the croſs for our ſins, but after the order of Aaron: "and that when Chriſt did offer his body to his Father, "after the order of Melchizedek, to appeaſe his wrath, it "was to be underſtood not of the ſacrifice of the croſs, but "of the ſacrifice that he made at his maundy, in form of "bread and wine." In which book were other errors. He that is minded to ſee his recantation of theſe his books, may have it in the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of an old book made by Becon, intituled, *Reports of certain Men.* This recantation he not long after made at Oxon, *viz.* in Auguſt following: where he alſo proteſted openly, "That "he would abide in the ſincere and pure doctrine of Chriſt's "Goſpel, all human trifling traditions ſet apart, even unto "death, though it ſhould coſt him his life." And this recantation he alſo printed, for further ſatisfaction to the world.

Num. XXXIX.

Gardiner offended with this recantation.

Biſhop Gardiner, who was now at Wincheſter, was very uneaſy at the news of this recantation, which ſome took care to bring down to him. He ſignified to the Protector, "That Smith was a man with whom he had no familiarity, "nor cared for his acquaintance: that he had not ſeen "him in three years, nor talked with him in ſeven. He "was greatly diſpleaſed with the firſt words of his recanta- "tion, (which yet were but the words of Scripture,) *Omnis "homo mendax:* making all the doctors in the church (as "he inferred) to be liars with himſelf: how it argued his "pride; for he that fought for ſuch company in lying, had "ſmall humility; and that he would hide himſelf by that "number: that his depraving of man's nature in that ſort "was not the ſetting out of the authority of Scripture." He ſaid, "he neither liked his tractation, nor yet his retractation. "That he was mad to ſay in his book of Unwritten Verities, "that biſhops in this realm could make laws, wherein," he ſaid, "he lied loudly." About this time Chadſey, Standiſh, Yong, Oglethorp, and divers others, recanted, (whoſe recantations Fox had by him to ſhew,) as well as Smith, whom we have now before us.

172

Pſal. cxvi. 11.

Other univerſity-men recant.

After this recantation he carried not himſelf according to

it; but favoured the old errors: and in the year 1549, offered ſome affront unto Archbiſhop Cranmer, oppoſing him in the doctrine of the lawfulneſs of prieſts' marriage, and endeavoured to make a rout in Oxford, to the endangering Peter Martyr's life: and printed a book the ſame year againſt him, *De Votis Monaſticis*. Whereupon incurring, as he apprehended, ſome danger, he fled into Scotland. But weary of being there, and willing to have his peace made in England, he wrote two letters to the Archbiſhop from thence; profeſſing that he would out of hand, by open writing in the Latin tongue, revoke all that erroneous doctrine which he had before taught and publiſhed, and ſet forth the pure doctrine of Chriſt: and, for a proof hereof, he would ſtraight after his return into England ſet forth a book in Latin, in defence of the moſt lawful marriage of prieſts. In the year 1550, he wrote certain treatiſes againſt Peter Martyr, printed at Lovain: and the ſame year came out his book againſt the Archbiſhop's treatiſe of the ſacrament.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1547. Smith affronts the Archbiſhop.

This man was of a moſt inconſtant, as well as turbulent ſpirit: for in the reign of Queen Mary he turned to the religion then profeſſed; and was great with Biſhop Boner in thoſe times, but greatly deſpiſed for his fickleneſs. He once attempted to diſcourſe with Hawks in Boner's houſe in London; Hawks threw in his diſh his recantation. To which when he ſaid it was no recantation, but a declaration; the other gave him this rub: "To be ſhort, I will know, whether "you will recant any more ere ever I talk with you, or "believe you?" and ſo departed from him. We ſhall hear of him again in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when he again complied, and ſubmitted himſelf to Archbiſhop Parker: and laſt of all returned to his old opinions, and fled to Lovain.

His inconſtancy.

Paſs we from this man to another of the ſame ſtrain, with whom the Archbiſhop had to do. As the popiſh clergy in the former King's reign had made all the rudeſt and eagereſt oppoſition they dared againſt the ſteps that were then made towards a reformation, ſo they ceaſed not to do in this King's; nay, and more, hoping to ſhelter themſelves under a

The Archbiſhop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney.

BOOK II. Anno 1547. Foxii MSS. 173

milder government. One inſtance of this appeared in what was done by the *quondam* Abbot of Tower-hill, London: who, for ſome recompenſe of the loſs of his abbey, was made Vicar of Stepney-church; ſucceeding, I ſuppoſe, Mr. Hierom, burnt to death in the year 1540, with Dr. Barnes and Garret. He being a bold man, and addicted to the old ſuperſtition, would commonly diſturb the preachers in his church, when he liked not their doctrine, by cauſing the bells to be rung when they were at the ſermon; and ſometimes beginning to ſing in the choir before the ſermon were half done; and ſometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit: for he was a ſtrong, ſtout, popiſh prelate. Whom therefore the godly-diſpoſed of the pariſh were weary of, and eſpecially ſome of the eminenteſt men at Limehurſt, whoſe names were Driver, Ive, Poynter, March, and others. But they durſt not meddle with him, until one Underhil, of the band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, of a good family, and well reſpected at court, came to live at Limehurſt. He, being the King's ſervant, took upon him to reprehend this Abbot for theſe and ſuch-like his doings: and by his authority carried him unto Croyden to the Archbiſhop there, the perſons above named going along as witneſſes. In fine, the mild Archbiſhop ſent him away with a gentle rebuke, and bade him to do no more ſo. This lenity offended Underhil, who ſaid, "My Lord, methinks you are "too gentle unto ſo ſtout a Papiſt." To which Cranmer replied, "Well, we have no law to puniſh them by." "No "law, my Lord?" ſaid the other. "If I had your authority, "I would be ſo bold to unvicar him, or miniſter ſome ſharp "puniſhment upon him, and ſuch other. If ever it come to "their turn, they will ſhew you no ſuch favour." "Well," ſaid the good Archbiſhop, "if God ſo provide, we muſt "abide it." "Surely," replied the other again, "God will "never con you thanks for this, but rather take the ſword "from ſuch as will not uſe it upon his enemies." And ſo they parted. And this indeed was the conſtant behaviour of the Archbiſhop towards Papiſts, and ſuch as were his enemies. For which he was now, and at other times, taxed by men of hotter ſpirits: but his opinion was, that clemency

and goodneſs, as it was more agreeable to the Goſpel, which he laboured to adorn, ſo was more likely to obtain the ends he deſired, than rigour and auſterity. CHAP. VII. Anno 1547.

The Archbiſhop did one thing more this year of good conducement to the promoting true religion, and expoſing falſe: and that was in countenancing and licenſing an earneſt preacher in the ſouth-weſt parts, named Thomas Hancock, a maſter of arts, whoſe mouth had been ſtopped by a ſtrict inhibition from preaching in the former King's reign. The Archbiſhop ſaw well what a uſeful man he had been in thoſe parts of England where he frequented, having been a very diligent preacher of the Goſpel, and declaimer againſt papal abuſes, in the dioceſes of two bigoted biſhops, Gardiner of Wincheſter, and Capon of Sarum. In this firſt year of the King, many zealous preachers of the Goſpel, without ſtaying for public orders from above, earneſtly ſet forth the evangelical doctrine, in confutation of the ſacrifice of the maſs, and the corporal preſence in the ſacrament, and ſuch like. And of the laity there were great numbers every where, eſpecially in populous towns, of ſuch as did now more openly ſhew their heads, and their good inclinations to the *new learning*, as it was then called. In South- 174
ampton, of the dioceſe of Wincheſter; in Saliſbury, Pool, and Dorſet, of the dioceſe of Sarum; did this Hancock chiefly converſe and officiate in the latter end of King Henry: when he was ſuſpended *a celebratione divinorum*, Foxii MSS. by Dr. Raynold, Commiſſary under Dr. Steward, then Chancellor to Biſhop Gardiner, upon pretence of the breach of the act of ſix Articles; becauſe he had taught, out of the ninth to the Hebrews, "That our Saviour Chriſt entered "once into the holy place, by the which he obtained unto "us everlaſting redemption. That he once ſuffered, and "that his body was once offered, to take away the "ſins of many people. And that one only oblation ſufficed "for the ſins of the whole world." And though all this was but mere Scripture, yet they found it to contradict their notions, and therefore they thought convenient to ſuſpend him. But as theſe biſhops did what they could to ſtifle all preaching of God's word, ſo the Archbiſhop's principle was to encourage and ſend forth preachers. So

The Archbiſhop licenſeth an eminent preacher.

BOOK II.

Hancock, notwithſtanding his former ſuſpenſion, obtained a licence from our Archbiſhop to preach.

Anno 1547. Who preacheth againſt the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church. Foxii MSS.

Now to follow this preacher a little after his licence obtained. At Chriſt-Church Twinham, in the county of Southampton, where he was born, (as I take it from his own narration,) he preached out of the ſixteenth chapter of St. John, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall reprove the world of ſin, of righteouſneſs, &c. becauſe I go to the Father.* The prieſt being then at maſs, Hancock declared unto the people, "That that the prieſt held over his head, they did ſee with "their bodily eyes; but our Saviour Chriſt doth here "ſay plainly, that we ſhall ſee him no more. Then you," ſaith he, "that do kneel unto it, pray unto it, and honour "it as God, do make an idol of it, and yourſelves do com-"mit moſt horrible idolatry." Whereat the Vicar, Mr. Smith, ſitting in his chair, in the face of the pulpit, ſpake theſe words; "Mr. Hancock, you have done well until "now; and now have you played an ill cow's part, which, "when ſhe hath given a good meſs of milk, overthroweth "all with her foot, and ſo all is loſt." And with theſe words he got him out of the church.

Is bound to anſwer for his ſermon at the aſſizes.

Alſo, in this firſt year of the King, the ſame perſon preached in St. Thomas church at Saliſbury, Dr. Oking, Chancellor to Biſhop Capon, and Dr. Steward, Chancellor to Biſhop Gardiner, being preſent, with divers others of the clergy and laity. His place was, *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out.* Whence he inveighed againſt the ſuperſtitious ceremonies, holy bread, holy water, images, copes, veſtments, &c: and at laſt againſt the idol of the altar, proving it to be an idol, and no God, by the firſt of St. John's Goſpel, *No man hath ſeen God at any time;* with other places of the Old Teſtament. But "that the prieſt held over his head, they did "ſee, kneeled before it, honoured it; and ſo made an idol "of it: and therefore they were moſt horrible idolaters." Whereat the doctors, and certain of the clergy, went out of the church. Hancock, ſeeing them departing, charged them, "They were not of God, becauſe they refuſed to "hear the word of God." But when the ſermon was ended, Thomas Chaffen the Mayor, ſet on, as is likely, by

CHAP. VII. Anno 1547.

some of the clergy, came to him, laying to his charge the breach of a proclamation, lately set forth by the Lord Protector, "That no nick-names should be given unto the sa-"crament, as *Round Robin*, or *Jack in the box*." Whereto he replied, "That it was no sacrament, but an idol, as they "used it." But, for all this excuse, the Mayor had committed him to jail, had not six honest men been bound for his appearance the next assizes, to make his answer: as Dr. Jeffery about this time had committed two to prison for the like cause. 175

How far the reformation had proceeded.

So that now, if we look back upon this first year of the King, we may perceive how busy and diligent our Archbishop was in redressing abuses, and restoring the church to its true state of christian piety and devotion; by procuring a royal visitation over England for inspection into the manners and abilities of the clergy, and for taking away of superstitions; by getting a book of plain Homilies to teach the common people, (in the composing whereof he himself had a very great hand,) and Erasmus his Paraphrase in English upon the New Testament, for the better furnishing the clergy and others with a sound and sober understanding of the Scriptures; and by encouraging preachers, and such-like means. So that if you would particularly know in what forwardness the Archbishop had already put religion, taking in his endeavours in the last King's reign hitherto, I recommend to your reading his homily or sermon *Of Good Works*: shewing out of what abundance of superstitions the church was now emerged. "Briefly, to pass over the un-"godly and counterfeit religion, [he means, of monks and "friars,] let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical su-"perstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters and "rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. Bernard's Verses, of St. "Agathe's Letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of "stations and jubilees, of fained relics, or hallowed beads, "bells, bread, water, psalms, candles, fire, and such other. "Of superstitious fastings, of fraternities or brotherhoods, "of pardons, with such-like merchandize: which were so "esteemed or abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory "and commandments, that they were made most high and "most holy things; whereby to obtain to the everlasting

Part 3.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"life, or remiſſion of ſins. Yea alſo vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and conceits of Rome; wherein ſuch were advanced, that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wiſdom, learning, and godlineſs unto them. So that the laws of Rome, as they ſaid, were to be received of all men, as the four Evangeliſts: to the which all the laws of princes muſt give place. And the laws of God alſo partly were left off, and leſs eſteemed, that the ſaid laws, decrees, and councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly kept, and had in greater reverence. Thus were the people, through ignorance, ſo blinded with the godly ſhew and appearance of thoſe things, that they thought the keeping of them to be more holineſs, more perfect ſervice and honouring of God, and more pleaſing to God, than the keeping of God's commandments. Such have been the corrupt inclinations of man, ever ſuperſtitiouſly given to make new honouring of God of his own head; 176 and then to have more affection and devotion to keep that, than to ſearch out God's holy commandments, and to keep them. And furthermore, to take God's commandments for man's commandments, and man's commandments for God's commandments, yea, and for the higheſt and moſt perfect and holieſt of all God's commandments. And ſo was all confuſed, that ſcant well-learned men, and but a ſmall number of them, knew, or at the leaſt would know, and durſt affirm the truth, to ſeparate or ſever God's commandments from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow ſuch error, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, vain religion, overthwart judgment, great contention, with all ungodly living."

A Biſhop conſecrated.

Ridley conſecrated Biſhop. Cranm. Regiſt. p. 321.

September the 5th, being Sunday, Nicolas Ridley, D. D. Prebend of Canterbury, was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter by Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, aſſiſted by John Suffragan of Bedford, and Thomas Suffragan of Sidon, in the chapel belonging to the houſe of May, Dean of St. Paul's. He was conſecrated according to the old cuſtom of the church, by the unction of holy chriſm, as well as impoſi-

tion of hands. Present, among others, John Whytwel, the Archbishop's Almoner; Rich. Tayler, M. A. Nic. Bullingham, Gregory Tod, and Tho. Bernard, his chaplains. CHAP. VII. Anno 1547.

CHAP. VIII.

The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

AS the reformation of abuses in religion went forward under such a King, and such an Archbishop, so there wanted not for evils accompanying it, as there do commonly the best things; the profaneness of some, and the covetousness of others, giving occasion thereunto. Sacred places, set apart for divine worship, were now greatly profaned; and so probably had been before by ill custom: for in many churches, cathedral as well as other, and especially in London, many frays, quarrels, riots, blood-sheddings were committed. They used also commonly to bring horses and mules into and through churches, and shooting off handguns: "making the same, which were properly appointed "to God's service and common-prayer, like a stable or com- "mon inn, or rather a den or sink of all unchristiness;" as it was expressed in a proclamation which the King set forth about this time, as I suppose, (for I am left to conjecture for the date,) by reason of the insolency of great numbers using the said evil demeanors, and daily more and more increasing: "therein forbidding any such quarrelling, shoot- "ing, or bringing horses and mules into or through the "churches, or by any other means irreverently to use the "churches, upon pain of his Majesty's indignation, and im- "prisonment." For it was not thought fit that, when divine worship was now reforming, the places for the said worship should remain unreformed. Anno 1548. Churches profaned. Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2.

177

Beside the profanation of churches, there prevailed now another evil, relating also to churches, *viz.* That the utensils and ornaments of these sacred places were spoiled, embezzled, and made away, partly by the church-wardens, and partly by other parishioners. Whether the cause were, that Church ornaments embezzled.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

they would do that themſelves, which they imagined would ere long be done by others, *viz.* robbing the churches: which, it may be, thoſe that bore an ill-will to the reformation might give out, to render it the more odious. But certain it is, that it now became more or leſs practiſed all the nation over, to fell or take away chalices, croſſes of ſilver, bells, and other ornaments. For the ſtopping of this, in the month of April, the Protector, and the lords of the council, writ to our Archbiſhop this letter, upon the information and complaint, as it is likely, of the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf, in whoſe dioceſe eſpecially this ſacrilege prevailed.

The council's letter to the Archbiſhop thereupon. Cranm. Regiſt.

"AFTER our right hearty commendations. Whereas "we are informed that the church-wardens and parochians "of divers pariſhes do alienate and ſell away their chalices, "croſſes of ſilver, bells, and other ornaments of the church: "which were not given for that purpoſe, to be alienated at "their pleaſure; but either to be uſed to the intent they "were at firſt given, or to ſome other neceſſary and con- "venient ſervice of the church. Therefore this is to will "and require you immediately, upon the ſight hereof, to "give ſtrait charge and commandment, on the King's Ma- "jeſty's behalf, to every pariſh-church within your dioceſe, "that they do in no wiſe ſell, give, or otherwiſe alienate "any bells, or other ornaments, or jewels, belonging unto "their pariſh-church, upon pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure, "as they will anſwer to the contrary at their peril. Thus "fare you well. From Weſtminſter, the laſt day of April "1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerſet.	Will. Seint-John.	J. Ruſſell.
"H. Arundel.	Tho. Cheyney.	Will. Paget.
"Tho. Smith.	A. Denny.	Will. Herbert.
"Joh. Baker."		

It is not an improbable conjecture, that the Archbiſhop procured this letter to arm church-wardens with an anſwer to ſuch greedy courtiers and gentlemen, as uſed often to reſort to them; and in their own, or the council's name,

CHAP. VIII.

required thefe goods of their churches to be yielded up to them; and threatened them if they did not.

Anno 1548. A form of prayer fent to the Archbifhop.

The next month the council fent the Archbifhop a form of prayer, to be ufed by himfelf and thofe of his diocefe. Wherein God was implored to grant the nation peace and victory over her enemies: for now all things round about appeared in a pofture of war; and preparation of arms were making: which caufed the King alfo to raife forces. And, for a blefling upon them, the privy-council fent to the Archbifhop, together with the form, an order for the fpeedy ufing of it. The tenor of the letter follows.

178

With the council's letter. Cranm. Regift.

"AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lord-"fhip. Hearing tell of great preparations made of foreign "Princes, and otherwife being enforced, for the procure-"ment and continuance of peace, to make preparation of "war: foraſmuch as all power and aid valuable cometh of "God; the which he granteth, as he hath promifed by his "holy word, by nothing fo much as by hearty prayers of "good men: the which is alfo of more efficacy, made of "an whole congregation together, gathered in his holy "name: therefore this is to will and require you to give "advertifement and commandments to all the curates in "your diocefe, that every Sunday and holy-day, in their "common-prayer, they make devout and hearty interceſ-"fions to Almighty God for victory and peace. And to the "intent that you fhould not be in doubts what fort and "manner thereof we do like, we have fent unto you one: "which we would that you and they fhould follow, and "read it inftead of one of the collects of the King's Ma-"jefty's proceffion. Thus we pray you not fail to do with "all fpeed, and bid you farewell. From Weftminfter, the "6th of May, 1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerfet. R. Rich, Canc. W. Seint-John.
"J. Ruffel. Th. Cheyney."

New opinions broached.

Now that the liberty of the Gofpel began to be allowed, divers falfe opinions and unfound doctrines began to be vented with it; of which public cognizance began now to

BOOK II. Anno 1546.

be taken. As, "that the elect sinned not, and that they "could not sin. That they that be regenerate never fall "away from godly love. That the elect have a right to "take so much of the things of the world as may supply "their necessities." And there were some that openly preached these doctrines, and set forth and published books to the same tenor.

Cranm. Regist.

Several of these heretics, in the month of April, were convented before the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Thomas Smith; Richard Cox, Hugh Latimer, doctors of divinity; William May, Dean of St. Paul's; William Cook, Richard Lyel, doctors of law; and others the King's commissioners. Then did one John Champneys, of Stratford on the Bow, abjure. He taught, and wrote, and defended; "1. That a "man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin. 2. That "the outward man might sin, but the inward man could "not. 3. That the Gospel hath been so much persecuted "and hated ever since the Apostles' times, that no man "might be suffered openly to follow it. 4. That godly "love falleth never away from them which be regenerate "in Christ: wherefore they cannot do contrary to the "commandments of Christ. 5. That that was the most "principal of our marked men's doctrine, that make the "people believe that there was no such spirit given unto "men, whereby they should remain righteous, and always "in Christ. Which is [as he wrote and asserted] a most de-"vilish error. 6. That God doth permit to all his elect
179 "people their bodily necessities of all earthly things."

Champneys revokes six articles.

All these he revoked: granting or confessing now, "1. "That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, may sin, "being destitute of his spirit. 2. That the inner man doth "sin, when the outward man sinneth actually with the con-"sent of the mind. 3. That divers times, sithence the "Apostles' times, to follow the doctrine of Christ hath been "suffered openly. 4. That godly love falleth from them "that be regenerate in Christ, being destitute of the spirit: "and that then they may do contrary to the commands of "Christ. 5. That it is no erroneous doctrine, which he af-"firmed in his book to be a devilish error, and our marked "men's doctrine, *viz.* To make the people believe that

" there was no ſuch ſpirit given unto man, whereby he CHAP.
" ſhould remain righteous always in Chriſt. But I confeſs, VIII.
" [ſaith the abjurer,] that a man, having the ſpirit, may af- Anno 1548.
" terwards fall, and not be righteous. 6. That God doth
" not permit to all his elect people their bodily neceſſities
" of all worldly things to be taken, but by a law and order
" approved by the civil policy: to which by me now ſpo-
" ken I mean, ne underſtand any other ſenſe than hath been
" here opened;" to uſe again his very words in his abjuration. And ſo, touching the holy Goſpel with his hand, before the King's commiſſioners, he abjured, promiſing, " That he ſhould never hold, teach, or believe the ſaid errors, " or damned opinions above rehearſed." And ſo ſubſcribed his name.

Then the Archbiſhop in his own name, and in the name of the other commiſſioners, gave him his oath. " 1. That he " ſhould not by any means hereafter teach or preach to the " people, nor ſet forth any kind of books, in print or other- " wiſe, nor cauſe to be printed or ſet forth any ſuch books, " that ſhould contain any manner of doctrine, without a ſpe- " cial licence thereunto of the King's Majeſty, or ſome of " his Grace's privy-council firſt had and obtained. 2. That " the ſaid Champneys, with all ſpeed convenient, and with " all his diligence, procure as many of his books, as are " paſſed forth in his name, to be called in again, and utterly " deſtroyed, as much as in him ſhould lie. 3. That he " ſhould the Sunday following attend at Paul's Croſs upon " the preacher, all the time of the ſermon, and there peni- " tently ſtand before the preacher with a faggot on his " ſhoulder." And then he had two ſureties bound in five hundred pounds, that he ſhould perform his penance. This was done April 27. And abjures.

There were other hereſies alſo now vented abroad, as the denial of the Trinity, and of the deity of the Holy Ghoſt: and the aſſertion, That Jeſus Chriſt was a mere man, and not true God, becauſe he had the accidents of human nature; ſuch as hungering and thirſting, and being viſible: and that the benefit men receive by Jeſus Chriſt was the bringing them to the true knowledge of God. There was one John Aſſheton, a prieſt, that preached theſe doctrines: who on the 28th of December was ſummoned to Lambeth, Other hereſies vented. Cranm. Regiſt.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

to appear there before the Archbiſhop. Where John Whitwel, the Archbiſhop's Almoner, and Thomas Langley, both prieſts, and his Grace's chaplains, exhibited a ſchedule of divers hereſies and damned opinions againſt the ſaid Aſsheton: which are recited in the abjuration which he made. The tenor whereof is as followeth.

180 Aſsheton's recantation.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you, moſt learned "father in God, Thomas, Archbiſhop, Primate, and Metro- "politan of all England, Commiſſary of our moſt dread ſo- "vereign Lord, and excellent Prince, Edward VI. by the "grace of God, &c. I John Aſsheton, prieſt, of my pure "heart, free-will, voluntary and ſincere knowledge, confeſs "and openly recognize, that in times paſt I thought, be- "lieved, ſaid, heard, and affirmed theſe errors, hereſies, and "damnable opinions following; that is to ſay, 1. That the "Trinity of perſons was eſtabliſhed by the confeſſion of "Athanaſius, declared by a pſalm, *Quicunque vult*, &c. "and that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, but only a certain "power of the Father. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt, that was con- "ceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy Prophet, and eſ- "pecially beloved of God the Father; but that he was not "the true and living God: foraſmuch as he was ſeen, and "lived, hungered and thirſted. 3. That this only is the "fruit of Jeſus Chriſt's paſſion; that whereas we were "ſtrangers from God, and had no knowledge of his Teſta- "ment, it pleaſed God by Chriſt to bring us to the ac- "knowledging of his holy power by the Teſtament.

"Wherefore I the ſaid John Aſsheton, deteſting and ab- "horring all and every my ſaid errors, hereſies, and damned "opinions, willingly, and with all my power, affecting here- "after firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of "Chriſt and his holy church, purpoſing to follow the true "and ſincere doctrine of holy church with a pure and free "heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend utterly to for- "ſake, relinquiſh, renounce, and deſpiſe the ſaid deteſtable "errors, hereſies, and abominable opinions: granting and "confeſſing now, 1. That the bleſſed Trinity conſiſteth in "three diſtinct Perſons, and one Godhead; as God the Fa- "ther, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, coequal in "power and might. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt is both God and "man, after his holy nature eternally begotten of his Fa-

" ther, of his own ſubſtance ; and in his humanity was con- CHAP. VIII.
" ceived by the Holy Ghoſt incarnate, and for our redemp- Anno 1548
" tion, being very God, became man. 3. That by the death " of Jeſus Chriſt we be not only made partakers of the " Teſtament, and ſo diſpoſed to the knowledge of his godly " will and power, but alſo that we have full redemption and " remiſſion of our ſins in his blood." Then he ſubſcribed his hand to this confeſſion before the Archbiſhop, exhibiting it for his act; and, lifting up his hand, beſeeched his Grace to deal mercifully and graciouſly with him; and touching the Goſpel, gave his faith that he would faithfully and humbly obey the commands of the holy mother-church, and whatſoever penance the ſaid moſt reverend father ſhould lay upon him.

To theſe erroneous doctrines we muſt add others, that now alſo ſpread themſelves: as, that Chriſt took not fleſh of the Virgin: that the baptiſm of infants was not profitable. Of which error one Michael Thombe of London, butcher, recanted the year following, *viz.* 1549, May 11, having been then convented before the Archbiſhop at Lambeth. Other errors ſtill.

" I Michael Thombe of London, bocher, of my pure 181
" heart and free-will, voluntarily and ſincerely acknowledge
" and confeſs, and openly recognize, that in times paſt I
" thought, believed, ſaid, heard, and affirmed, theſe errors
" and hereſies, and damnable opinions following: that is to
" ſay, That Chriſt took no fleſh of our Lady; and that the
" baptiſm of infants is not profitable, becauſe it goeth be-
" fore faith. Wherefore I, the ſaid Michael Thombe, de-
" teſting and abhorring all and every ſuch my ſaid errors,
" hereſies, and damned opinions; and with all my power
" affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and per-
" fect faith of Chriſt, and of the holy church, purpoſing to
" follow the true and ſincere doctrine of holy church with
" a pure and free heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend,
" utterly to forſake, relinquiſh, renounce, and deſpiſe the
" ſaid deteſtable errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions;
" granting and confeſſing now, That Chriſt took fleſh of the
" Virgin Mary; and that the baptiſm of infants is profit-
" able and neceſſary." And by this ſubmiſſion and penance doing, Thombe eſcaped.

BOOK II.

Anno 1548. Joan Bocher's hereſy.

But another of the ſame opinion, more obſtinate, came to a ſadder end, and was burnt; namely, Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent. Her opinion is in the inſtrument drawn up againſt her in the Archbiſhop's regiſter: which ran thus; "That you believe that the Word was made fleſh in the "Virgin's belly; but that Chriſt took fleſh of the Virgin "you believe not, becauſe the fleſh of the Virgin, being the "outward man, was ſinfully gotten, and born in ſin. But "the Word, by the conſent of the inward man of the Vir-"gin, was made fleſh." This ſhe ſtood perverſely in. So the Archbiſhop himſelf excommunicated her judicially; the ſentence being read by him, April 1549, in St. Mary's chapel, within the cathedral church of Paul's, Sir Thomas Smith, William Cook, Dean of the Arches, Hugh Latimer, Richard Lyell, LL. D. the King's commiſſioners, aſſiſting. She was committed afterwards to the ſecular arm; and certified ſo to be by an inſtrument made by the commiſſioners to the King. After ſhe was condemned, ſhe was a ſevennight in the Lord Chancellor Rich his houſe; and every day the Archbiſhop and Biſhop Ridley came and reaſoned with her, that, if poſſible they might, ſave her from the fire: but nothing would do. I will here produce Latimer's cenſure of her, who well knew her caſe, being one of the commiſſioners that ſat upon her. "She would ſay," ſaith he in his ſermon on St. John Evangeliſt's day, "that our "Saviour was not very man, nor had received fleſh of his "mother Mary: and yet ſhe could ſhew no reaſon why "ſhe ſhould believe ſo. Her opinion was this; The Son of "God, ſaid ſhe, penetrated through her as through a glaſs, "taking no ſubſtance of her. This fooliſh woman denied "the common creed, *Natus ex Maria Virgine*, and ſaid "that our Saviour had a fantaſtical body."

Latimer's cenſure of her.

George van Paris.

A Dutchman, an Arian, named George van Paris, denying Chriſt to be true God, came to a like end with Joan, namely, that of burning to death, being condemned for hereſy; that was in the year 1551. But though I make ſome anticipation in my hiſtory, yet I do it that I may lay theſe hereſies here together, that ſtarted up, or rather ſhewed themſelves more viſibly, in this reign.

CHAP. IX. 182

The Archbiſhop viſits.

THE Archbiſhop in this year held a viſitation in divers places throughout his dioceſe: wherein inquiry was to be made concerning the behaviour both of the prieſts and the people, in eighty-ſix articles. Whereby may be ſeen the Archbiſhop's conſcientious care and ſolicitude for the abrogating of ſuperſtition, and the promoting of true religion: that he might reduce the clergy to learning, ſobriety, and diligence in their vocation; and the people to loyalty and obedience to the King, and the ſincere worſhipping of God. Anno 1548. The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe.

Concerning the prieſts, he ordered inquiry to be made; His articles for the clergy.
"Whether they preached four times a year againſt the "uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome, and in behalf of "the King's power and authority within his own realms. "Whether, in their common prayers, they uſed not the col- "lects made for the King, and mentioned not his Majeſty's "name in the ſame. Whether they had deſtroyed and "taken away out of the churches all images and ſhrines, "tables, candleſticks, trindals, or rolls of wax, and all other "monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and ſuperſtition; "and moved their pariſhioners to do the ſame in their own "houſes. Inquiries were made concerning their due ad- "miniſtration of the ſacraments; concerning their preach- "ing God's word once at leaſt in a quarter; and then ex- "horting their pariſhioners to works commanded by Scrip- "ture, and not to works deviſed by men's fancies, as wear- "ing and praying upon beads, and ſuch like. Concerning "the plain reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten "Commandments in Engliſh, immediately after the Goſpel, "as often as there were no ſermon. Concerning the exa- "mining of every one that came to confeſſion in Lent, whe- "ther they were able to ſay the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, "and Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. Concerning the "having learned curates, to be procured by ſuch as were "abſent from their benefices. Concerning having the whole

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

" Bible of the largeſt volume in every church, and Eraſ-
" mus's Paraphraſe in Engliſh. Concerning teaching the
" people of the nature of the faſt of Lent, and other days in
" the year, that it was but a mere poſitive law. Concerning
" reſidence upon beneſices, and keeping hoſpitality. Con-
" cerning finding a ſcholar in the univerſities, or ſome gram-
" mar-ſchool, incumbent on ſuch prieſts as had an hundred
" pounds a year. Concerning moving the pariſhioners to
" pray rather in Engliſh, than in a tongue unknown, and
" not to put their truſt in ſaying over a number of beads.
" Concerning having the New Teſtament in Latin and Eng-
" liſh, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, which all prieſts under the
" degree of bachelors in divinity were examined about.
" Concerning putting out of the church-books the name of
" Papa, and the name and ſervice of Thomas Becket, and
" the prayers that had rubrics, containing pardons and in-
" dulgences." And many the like articles: which may
183 be ſeen by him that will have recourſe to them, as they are
printed in Biſhop Sparrow's Collections.

And for the laity.

Thoſe articles that related to the laity were, " Concern-
" ing the letters or hinderers of the Word of God read in
" Engliſh, or preached ſincerely. Concerning ſuch as went
" out of the church in time of the Litany, or common-
" prayer, or ſermon. Concerning ringing bells at the ſame
" time. Concerning ſuch as abuſed the ceremonies, as caſt-
" ing holy-water upon their beds, bearing about them
" holy-bread, St. John's Goſpel; keeping of private holy-
"days, as taylors, bakers, brewers, ſmiths, ſhoemakers, &c.
" did. Concerning the miſbeſtowing of money ariſing from
" cattle, or other moveable ſtocks of the church, as for
" finding of lights, torches, tapers, or lamps, and not em-
" ployed to the poor man's cheſt. Concerning abuſing
" prieſts and miniſters. Concerning praying upon the Eng-
" liſh Primer, ſet forth by the King, and not the Latin, for
" ſuch as underſtand not Latin. Concerning keeping the
" Church-holy-day, and the Dedication-day, any otherwiſe,
" or at any other time, than was appointed. Concerning
" commoning and jangling in the church at the time of
" reading the common-prayer or homilies, or when there
" was preaching. Concerning maintenance of error and

" herefy. Concerning common fwearers, drunkards, blaf- CHAP.
" phemers, adulterers, bawds. Inquiries were alfo to be IX.
" made after fuch as were common brawlers, flanderers; Anno 1542.
" fuch as ufed charms, forceries, inchantments, and witch-
" craft; fuch as contemned their own parifh-church, and
" went elfewhere. Concerning marrying within the de-
" grees prohibited, and without afking the banns. Con-
" cerning the honeft difcharge of wills and teftaments, in
" fuch as were executors or adminiftrators. Concerning fuch
" as contemned married prieſts, and refufed to receive the
" communion and other facraments at their hands. Con-
" cerning fuch as kept in their own houfes images, tables,
" pictures, painting, or monuments of fained miracles un-
" defaced, &c."

In this year alfo the Archbifhop, with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, granted the patronage, rectory, &c. of Riceborough Monachorum, in the county of Bucks, to the Lord Windfor, for fourfcore and nineteen years: and, in exchange, the faid Lord granted to the Archbifhop the advowfon, patronage, and nomination of Midley in Kent, for the fame duration of years. An exchange made between the Archbifhop and the Lord Windfor.

September the 9th, being Sunday, Robert Farrar, D. D. was conſecrated Biſhop of St. David's, by Thomas Archbifhop of Canterbury, endued with his pontificals, and aſſiſted by Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, and Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, at Chertſey in the dioceſe of Winton, in the Archbifhop's houſe there. Then certain hymns, pſalms, and prayers being recited, together with a portion of Scripture read in the vulgar tongue out of St. Paul's Epiſtles, and the Goſpel of St. Matthew, the Archbifhop celebrated the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. There communicated the reverend fathers, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Farrar the new Biſhop; together with William May, Dean of St. Paul's; Simon Hains, Dean of Exon; Thomas Robertſon, and John Redman, profeſſors 184
of divinity, and others. The Archbifhop then diſtributed the communion in Engliſh words. This Biſhop (as it is writ in the margin of the regiſter) was the firſt that was conſecrated upon the bare nomination of the King, accord- Biſhop of St. David's conſecrated. Cranm. Regiſt. fol. 327.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

ing to the ſtatute that for that purpoſe was publiſhed in the firſt year of his reign. The form of the King's letters patents, whereby he conſtituted Farrar biſhop, is extant in the regiſter, dated from Leghes, Auguſt 1, in the ſecond year of his reign.

Some account of this Biſhop.

At this Biſhop of St. David's I will ſtay a little: proving unhappy by his preferment unto a church, whoſe corruptions while he endeavoured to correct, he ſunk under his commendable endeavours. He was an active man, and made much uſe of in public affairs in King Henry and King Edward's days; having been firſt a Canon of St. Mary's in Oxon. He was with Biſhop Barlow when he was by King Henry ſent ambaſſador to Scotland, anno 1535. Another time employed in carrying old books of great value from St. Oſwald's, a diſſolved monaſtery, as it ſeems, unto the Archbiſhop of York. And in the royal viſitation in the beginning of King Edward, he was one of the King's viſitors, being appointed one of the preachers, for his great ability in that faculty: and being chaplain to the Duke of Somerſet, was by his means advanced to be biſhop; and upon his fall he fell into great troubles. This Biſhop, not long after his firſt entrance upon his biſhopric, reſolved to viſit his dioceſe, like a careful paſtor, hearing of very great corruptions in it, and particularly among thoſe that belonged to the chapter of the church of Carmarthen; and chiefly Thomas Young, chaunter, after Archbiſhop of York, (who pulled down the great hall in the palace there for lucre of the lead,) and Rowland Merick, one of the canons, after Biſhop of the ſaid ſee of St. David's, and father to Sir Gilly Merick, that came to an untimely death, by being in the buſineſs of the Earl of Eſſex. Theſe two, having been before commiſſaries of this dioceſe, had ſpoiled the cathedral church of croſſes, chalices, and cenſers; with other plate, jewels, and ornaments, to the value of five hundred marks or more; and converted them to their own private benefit: and had ſealed many blanks (*ſede vacante*) without the King's licence or knowledge. Whereupon the Biſhop iſſued out his commiſſion to his Chancellor for viſiting the chapter, as well as the reſt of the dioceſe. But the commiſſion was, it ſeems, drawn up amiſs by the ſaid Chancellor, to whom the Biſhop

left the forming the draught: for it ran in the old popiſh form, and ſo the King's ſupremacy not ſufficiently acknowledged therein; though he profeſſed to viſit in the King's name and authority. This theſe two, in combination with his own ingrateful regiſter, George Conſtantine, whom he had preferred, took their advantage of; not only to diſobey the ſaid commiſſion, but to accuſe the poor Biſhop of a *præmunire*: for which he was fain to go down from London, whither they had before brought him up, to anſwer at the aſſizes of Carmarthen. And when, by reaſon of the moleſtations they gave him, and their detaining him in London, he could not be ſo exact in paying in the tenths, and firſt-fruits, and ſubſidies, due from the clergy of his dioceſe; they took hold of this as another crime to lay to his charge. And hereupon, in fine, he was kept in priſon a long time, and ſo remained when Queen Mary entered upon the government: upon which occaſion he fell into the hands of the Pope's butchers: who at laſt, for maintaining the truth, ſent him into his dioceſe, and burnt him at a ſtake. And thus theſe men became the inſtruments of his death. 185

CHAP. IX. Anno 1548.

In their vexatious ſuits againſt this good Biſhop, undertaken the better to conceal their own faults, our Archbiſhop ſeemed to be engaged, giving too much credit to the ill reports that Farrar's enemies raiſed againſt him, in a great heap of frivolous and malicious articles, exhibited to the King's council: who appointed Sir John Maſon and Dr. Wotton to examine them; though, I ſuppoſe, our pious Archbiſhop afterwards ſaw through this malice, and forbore any further to give influence to thoſe that proſecuted this honeſt man: underſtanding by letters, which that afflicted man ſent, both to him, and Biſhop Goodrick, Lord Chancellor, his unjuſt vexations wrought by his adverſaries. One whereof, I mean his regiſter, remained regiſter to that very popiſh Biſhop that ſucceeded him; nay, and was aſſiſtant at his trial and condemnation. In ſhort, hear what one writes that lived nearer thoſe times, and might therefore be preſumed to know more of theſe matters.

The Archbiſhop ſwayed by Farrar's enemies.

"This was a conſpiracy of his enemies againſt him, and "of wicked fellows who had robbed the church, kept "concubines, falſified records, and committed many other

Sutcliff's Anſwer to Parſon's Threefold Converſ. of England.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

"groſs abuſes." To conclude, I find, by a private letter written to John Fox, that theſe men, knowing how they had wronged the good Biſhop, came to him before his death, and aſked him forgiveneſs; and he, like a good chriſtian, forgave them, and was reconciled to them.

CHAP. X.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. Rebellion in Devon.

THE commons this year brake out into a dangerous rebellion; and though they were once or twice appeaſed, and ſcattered in ſome places, yet they made inſurrections in others: and chiefly in Devon, where they were very formidable for their numbers. The reaſon they pretended was double. The one was, the oppreſſion of the gentry in encloſing of their commons from them: the other, the laying aſide the old religion; which, becauſe it was old, and the way their foreſathers worſhipped God, they were very fond of. The Lord Ruſſel, Lord Privy Seal, who was ſent againſt them, offering to receive their complaints, the rebels ſent them to him, drawn up under fifteen articles: as before they had ſent their demands in ſeven articles, and a proteſtation that they were the King's body and goods. In anſwer to which the King ſent a meſſage to them, that may be ſeen in Fox. They ſent alſo a ſupplication to the King: to the which an anſwer was made by the King's learned counſel.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the rebels' articles.

I ſhall take notice only of the fifteen articles, unto which our Archbiſhop drew up an excellent anſwer at good length: for no man was thought ſo fit as he to open and unravel theſe men's requeſts, and to unfold the unreaſonableneſs of them; and to ſhew what real miſchief they would pluck down upon themſelves and the nation, ſhould all the decrees of our foreſathers, and the ſix Articles, be revived again: and what great injury religion would receive, ſhould the Latin maſſes and images, and the worſhipping the ſacrament, and purgatory, and abbeys, be reſtored; and Cardinal Pole

186

come home, and the Engliſh Bible be called in, and ſuch-like things, which their demands conſiſted of. This anſwer of the Archbiſhop I judge worthy preſerving; (and therefore, though ſomewhat long, I have laid in the Appendix;) becauſe it will ſhew his wiſdom, learning, and the knowledge of the ſtate of the kingdom that he was furniſhed with. I met with theſe writings in the manuſcript library of Benet College, being the rough draught of them, all under the Archbiſhop's own hand. He charged them with ignorance in putting up ſuch articles: and concluded it not to be their own minds to have them granted, had they underſtood them, but that they were indeed deviſed by ſome prieſts, and rank papiſts and traitors to the realm; which he would not ſo much as think of them. So that he gently told them, that he muſt uſe the ſame expreſſion to them, that Chriſt did to James and John, "They aſked "they wot not what." Num. XL.

The Archbiſhop wrote this anſwer after the rout at Exeter given them by the Lord Ruſſel, and the taking priſoners divers of their captains and prieſts, and between the condemnation and execution of Humphrey Arundel, and Bray, Mayor of Bodmin; whom he prayed God to make penitent before their deaths, to which they were adjudged. For which two the rebels, in one of their articles, had required ſafe conduct to make their grievances known to the King: as they had, in another article, demanded two divines of the ſame popiſh ſtamp, to be ſent to them to preach, namely, Moreman and Criſpin; who both ſeemed now, being prieſts of that country, to be under reſtraint upon ſuſpicion: men, as the Archbiſhop told them, ignorant of God's word, but of notable craft, wilfulneſs, and diſſimulation, and ſuch as would poiſon them, inſtead of feeding them. Of Criſpin I find little, but that he was once Proctor of the Univerſity of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of phyſick, and of Oriel College. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwal in King Henry's time, and ſeemed to go along with that King in his ſteps of reformation, and was obſerved to be the firſt that taught his pariſhioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh; yet ſhewing himſelf in the next King's reign a Some account thereof. Criſpin. Moreman.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

zealot for the old ſuperſtitions. Hence we perceive the reaſon why the Archbiſhop charged him to be a man full of craft and hypocriſy. In Queen Mary's time he was, for his popiſh merits, preferred to be Dean of Exeter, and was coadjutor to the Biſhop of that dioceſe, (probably then ſuperannuated,) and died in that Queen's reign. Beſides theſe two, there was another clergyman the rebels ſpent another article in ſpeaking for, namely, Cardinal Pole: whom they would have ſent for home, and to be preferred to be of the privy council. But Cranmer told them his judgment; firſt, in general, of cardinals, that they never did good to this realm,

Cardinal Pole.

187 but always hurt: and then in particular of this Cardinal, that he had read once a virulent book of his writing againſt King Henry, exciting the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and all other princes, to invade this realm: and therefore that he was ſo far from deſerving to be called home, and to live in England, that he deſerved not to live at all. In fine, in this excellent compoſition of the Archbiſhop, his deſign was, to expoſe the abuſes and corruptions of popery, and to convince the nation what need there was that ſuch matters ſhould be aboliſhed, as the Pope's decrees, ſolitary maſſes, Latin ſervice, hanging the hoſt over the altar, ſacrament in one kind, holy bread, and holy water, palms, aſhes, images, the old ſervice-book, praying for ſouls in purgatory: and to vindicate the Engliſh ſervice, the uſe of the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and other matters relating to the reformation, made in King Edward's time. Which he doth all along with that ſtrain of happy perſpicuity and eaſineſs, that one ſhall ſcarcely meet with elſewhere; mixed every where with great gravity, ſerioufneſs, and compaſſion.

The Archbiſhop procures ſermons to be made againſt the rebellion.

The Archbiſhop thought it highly convenient, in theſe commotions round about, to do his endeavour to keep thoſe people, that were ſtill and quiet as yet, in their duty. And for this purpoſe had ſermons compoſed, to be now read by the curates to the people in their churches, to preſerve them in their obedience, and to ſet out the evil and miſchief of the preſent diſturbances. I find in the ſame volume where Cranmer's anſwers aforeſaid are, a ſermon againſt the ſeditions ariſing now every where, with the Archbiſhop's

Miſcell. D.

CHAP. X. Anno 1549.

interlinings, and marginal notes and corrections. This ſermon was firſt wrote in Latin by Peter Martyr, (as a note of Archbiſhop Parker's hand teſtifieth,) at Archbiſhop Cranmer's requeſt to the ſaid learned man, no queſtion; and ſo by his order tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed, I ſuppoſe, for the common uſe in thoſe times. It begins thus:

Peter Martyr's ſermon upon this occaſion.

"The common ſorrow of this preſent time, dear be-
"loved brethren in Chriſt, if I ſhould be more led thereby
"than by reaſon and zeal to my country, would move me
"rather to hold my peace than to ſpeak: for the great evils
"which we now ſuffer are to be bewailed with tears and
"ſilence, rather than with words. And hereunto I might
"allege for me the example of Job, who, when he came
"to his extreme miſery, he lying upon a dunghill, and
"three of his friends ſitting upon the ground by him for the
"ſpace of ſeven days, for great ſorrow, not one of them
"opened his mouth to ſpeak a word to another. If
"then the miſerable eſtate of Job, like a hard and ſharp bit,
"ſtopped his mouth from ſpeaking; and the lamentable
"caſe of their friend ſtaid theſe three men, being of ſpeech
"moſt eloquent, that they could not utter their words;
"ſurely it ſeems that I have a much more cauſe to be ſtill,
"and hold my peace. For there was the piteous lamen-
"tation of no more but one man, or one houſehold, and that
"only concerning temporal and worldly ſubſtance; but we
"have cauſe to bewail a whole realm, and that moſt noble,
"which lately being in that ſtate, that all other realms en-
"vied our wealth, and feared our force, is now ſo troubled,
"ſo vexed, ſo toſſed and deformed, and that by ſedition
"among ourſelves, of ſuch as be members of the ſame, that 188
"nothing is left unattempted to the utter ruin and ſubverſion
"thereof: and beſides this, the everlaſting puniſhment of
"God threateneth as well the authors and procurers of
"theſe ſeditions, as all others that join themſelves unto
"them, &c."

Beſides this ſermon of Peter Martyr's, there is another diſcourſe penned by him under his own hand, on the ſame occaſion, deſigned as it ſeems to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſent to the rebels; thus beginning:

Tantum voluit Deus vim charitatis et amoris magnitu-

BOOK II. Anno 1543.

dinem, inter populum et magiſtratum intercedere, ut per Hieremiam admonuerit plebem Iſraeliticam, quod pro Rege Nebuchadnezzar orarent, qui eorum rempublicam everterat, illoſque adhuc captivitate Babylonica premebat.

Dominus tametſi voluit ſuos, inſtar columbarum, ſimplices degere, idem nihilominus admonuit, ut ſerpentum prudentiam imitarentur, qua ſuas actiones literarum ſacrarum præceptis regerent et moderarentur, caverentque ne aliena conſilia, ut Papiſtarum vel ſeditioſorum, ſe in tranſverſum auferrent.

Si potuiſſetis (quod eſt prudentium) in longinquum proſpicere, omnino vidiſſetis cæteros hoſtes (uti nunc res ipſa declarat) fretos veſtris tumultibus in veſtrum regnum arma ſumpturos, et auſuros impune, qui nunquam, ſi in officio manſiſſetis, tentaſſent, &c.

The French take occaſion at this rebellion.

This laſt paragraph reſpected the French King, who, taking occaſion from theſe broils at home, brake out into open hoſtility againſt the kingdom, recalling his ambaſſador, and on a ſudden brought his ſhips againſt the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, with an intent to have conquered them. But, by the valour of the inhabitants, and ſome of the King's ſhips, he was beaten off with great loſs. This was in the month of Auguſt.

Bucer's diſcourſe againſt the ſedition.

Martin Bucer alſo wrote a diſcourſe againſt this ſedition, as well as Martyr. Both of them were now, I ſuppoſe, under the Archbiſhop's roof, entertained by him: and he thought it convenient that theſe learned foreigners ſhould give ſome public teſtimony of their diſlike of theſe doings. Bucer's diſcourſe, ſubjoined to Martyr's, began in this tenor:

Quæ dici poſſunt ad ſedandos animos plebis, et ab omni conatu ſeditioſo abſterrendos (quod ad rem ipſam attinet) inſcripta ſunt omnia, in reverendiſſimi D. N. M. Ven. Collegæ noſtri Pet. Martyris Schedis, ut noſtra adjectione nulla ſit opus, tamen ut conſenſum ſpiritus teſtemur, hæc ſubjecta libuit annotare, &c.

The Archbiſhop's prayer, compoſed for this occaſion.

An office of faſting was compoſed for this rebellion, which, being allayed in the weſt, grew more formidable in Norfolk and Yorkſhire. For I find a prayer compoſed by the Archbiſhop, with theſe words preceding; *The Exhortation to Penance, or the Supplication, may end with*

this or ſome other-like prayer. And then the prayer followeth: CHAP. X. Anno 1549.

"O LORD, whoſe goodneſs far exceedeth our naughti-
"neſs, and whoſe mercy paſſeth all meaſure, we confeſs thy
"judgment to be moſt juſt, and that we worthily have de-
"ſerved this rod wherewith thou haſt now beaten us. We
"have offended the Lord God: we have lived wickedly:
"we have gone out of the way: we have not heard thy 189
"prophets which thou haſt ſent unto us, to teach us thy
"word, nor have done as thou haſt commanded us:
"wherefore we be moſt worthy to ſuffer all theſe plagues.
"Thou haſt done juſtly, and we be worthy to be con-
"founded. But we provoke unto thy goodneſs; we
"appeal unto thy mercy; we humble ourſelves; we know-
"ledge our faults. We turn to thee, O Lord, with our
"whole hearts, in praying, in faſting, in lamenting and
"ſorrowing for our offences. Have mercy upon us, caſt us
"not away according to our deſerts; but hear us, and de-
"liver us with ſpeed, and call us to thee again, according
"to thy mercy: that we with one conſent, and one mind,
"may evermore glorify thee, world without end. Amen."

After this follow ſome rude draughts, written by Archbiſhop's Cranmer's own hand, for the compoſing, as I ſuppoſe, of an homily, or homilies, to be uſed for the office aforeſaid: which may be read in the Appendix. Num. XLI.

CHAP. XI.

Biſhop Boner deprived.

ON the eighth of September, a commiſſion was iſſued out from the King to our Archbiſhop, together with Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, Petre and Smith, the two ſecretaries, and Dr. May, Dean of Paul's, to examine Boner, Biſhop of London, for ſeveral matters of contempt of the King's order. The witneſſes againſt him were William Latimer and John Hoper. After the patience of ſeven ſeſſions at The Archbiſhop deprives Boner.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

Lambeth, in all which he carried himſelf diſdainfully, making excuſes and proteſtations, firſt againſt Sir Thomas Smith, and then againſt them all, and appealing to the King, the Archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, declared him obſtinate, and pronounced a ſentence of deprivation againſt him: and committed him to the Marſhalſea for his extraordinary rudeneſs to the King's commiſſioners; and there he abode all this King's reign. I will only mention ſomewhat of his behaviour towards the good Archbiſhop.

Diſcourſe between the Archbiſhop and him concerning his book.

At his firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, which was on the tenth of September, when they told him the reaſon of their commiſſion, *viz.* "To call him to account for a ſermon lately by him made at Paul's Croſs; "for that he did not publiſh to the people the article he "was commanded to preach upon, that is, of the King's "authority during his minority:" he after a bold ſcoffing manner gave no direct anſwer to this, but turned his ſpeech to the Archbiſhop, ſwearing, "That he wiſhed "one thing were had in more reverence than it was, "namely, the bleſſed maſs," as he ſtyled it: and telling the Archbiſhop withal, "That he had written very well "of the ſacrament: but he marvelled he did not more "honour it." The Archbiſhop, perceiving his groſs ignorance concerning his book, by his commending that which was contrary to his opinion, ſaid to Boner, "That "if he thought it well, it was becauſe he underſtood it not." Boner after his rude manner replied, "He thought he
190 "underſtood it better than he that wrote it." To which the Archbiſhop ſubjoined, "That truly he would make "a child of ten years old underſtand as much as he. But "what is that," ſaid he, "to our preſent matter?"

Concerning the ſacrament.

At this firſt ſeſſion, when Boner had ſaid, "That he "perceived the cauſe of his preſent trouble was, for that in "the ſermon made at Paul's Croſs, before mentioned, "he had aſſerted the true preſence of the body and blood "of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar;" the Archbiſhop ſaid, "That he ſpake much of a preſence in the ſacrament; "but he aſked him, What preſence is there, and what "preſence he meant?" Boner then in heat ſaid, "My

"Lord, I say and believe, that there is the very true pre-
"sence of the body and blood of Christ. What, and how
"do you believe?" said he to the Archbishop. Then the Archbishop, not minding to answer his question at this time, asked him further, "Whether Christ were there, "face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other li-"neaments of his body?" At which Boner shook his head, and said, "He was right sorry to hear his Grace speak those "words, and urged the Archbishop to shew his mind." But the Archbishop wisely waved it, saying, "That their "being there at that time was not to dispute of those "matters, but to prosecute their commission against him."

Chargeth the Archbishop concerning the preachers he allowed.

At another of these sessions, staying at the chamber-door where the commissioners sat, perceiving some of the Archbishop's gentlemen standing by, he applied himself to them, requiring and charging them, in God's behalf, and in his name, "That where they should chance to see and "hear corrupt and erroneous preachers against the blessed sa-"crament of the altar, they should tell their lord and master "of the same, and of these his sayings also to them, as "they were christian men, and should answer before God "for the contrary." And being committed by the delegates to the under-marshal, and going away, he turned again, and told the Archbishop, "That he was sorry that he, "being a bishop, should be so handled at his hands; but "more sorry that he suffered abominable heretics to "practise as they did in London and elsewhere, infecting "and disquieting the King's liege people. And therefore "he required him, as he would answer to God and the "King, that he would henceforth abstain thus to do. And "if he did not," he said, "he would accuse him before "God and the King's Majesty. Answer to it," added he, "as well as you can." And so departed.

The Archbishop's answers to Boner's declaration.

When Boner, after the sentence of deprivation, made a solemn declaration there against their proceedings, saying, "That he came compelled, and not of his own free will, "being brought as a prisoner:" and so appealed again from them to the King. The Archbishop answered his declaration; and told him, "That whereas he said, he came "coacted, or else he would not have appeared: he mar-

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

"velled at him, for that he would thereby make them "and the audience to believe, that becauſe he was a "priſoner, he ought not therefore to anſwer. Which if "it were true, were enough to confound the whole ſtate "of the realm: for I dare ſay," ſaid the Archbiſhop, "that "of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that ever the keeper "there hath had under him, he cannot ſhew me one that
191 "hath uſed ſuch defence as you have here done." To which Boner ſaid, "That if his keeper were learned in the "laws, he could ſhew him his mind therein." The Archbiſhop ſaid, "that he had read over all the laws as well as he, "but to another end and purpoſe than he did; and yet he "could find no ſuch privilege in this matter." He was deprived in the beginning of October, and the ſee remained void for ſome months till the next year, when Ridley was tranſlated thither, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

Papiſts inſiſt upon the invalidity of the laws made in the King's minority.

Indeed this was the moſt plauſible pretence the Papiſts had, and which they made much uſe of, (which Boner and Gardiner had cunningly invented;) *viz.* "That though the "King were to be obeyed, and all were bound to ſubmit "to his laws, yet not to the orders and placits of his coun-"ſellors, who made what innovations they pleaſed in his "name, and were none of his laws: and that therefore "things ſhould remain in the ſtate wherein the former King "left them, till the King, now a child, came to years of "diſcretion to make laws himſelf." This the rebels in Devon made uſe of: and this alſo the Lady Mary urged very boldly to the lords of the council, for her incompliance with the communion-book, and for continuance of the uſe of the maſs; telling them in a letter, "That ſhe was "reſolved to remain obedient to her father's laws, till the "King her brother ſhould have perfect years of diſcretion "to order that power that God had given him." Which No. XLII. letter, whereof I have the original, may be ſeen in the Appendix. For the ſatisfying therefore of the people in this, the preachers were fain to do their endeavours in the pulpits: ſhewing them, that thoſe that were in office under the King, were by the word of God to be obeyed as the King himſelf. "There be ſome men that ſay, (as Latimer in one "of his ſermons in theſe days,) when the King's Majeſty

Lat. Serm. fol. 25.

"himſelf commandeth me ſo to do, then I will do it, not "afore. This is a wicked ſaying, and damnable: for we "may not ſo be excuſed. Scripture is plain in it, and "ſheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having "authority from the King, as well as unto the King him-"ſelf. Therefore this excuſe will not, nor cannot ſerve "afore God. Yet let the magiſtrates take heed to their "office and duty." CHAP. XI. Anno 1549.

This year the Archbiſhop celebrated a great ordination, conſiſting of ſuch chiefly as ſhewed themſelves favourers of the King's proceedings, to be ſent abroad to preach the Goſpel, and to ſerve in the miniſtry of the church. At this ordination Biſhop Ridley alſo aſſiſted the Archbiſhop. The old popiſh order of conferring of holy orders was yet in force, the new office as yet not being prepared and eſtabliſhed: but this ordination nevertheleſs was celebrated after that order that was ſoon after eſtabliſhed. At this ordination great favour was ſhewn, and connivance to ſuch who, otherwiſe being well qualified for piety and learning, ſcrupled wearing the habits uſed by the popiſh prieſts. I meet with two famous men now ordained: the one was Robert Drakes, who was Deacon to Dr. Tayler, Parſon of Hadley, at the commandment of Archbiſhop Cranmer, afterwards Parſon of Thunderſley in Eſſex, and in the year 1556 burnt to death in Smithfield for his conſtant profeſſion of Chriſt's religion. The other was Thomas Sampſon, Parſon of Bread-ſtreet, London, and ſucceſſively Dean of Chicheſter and Chriſt's Church, Oxon: who in a letter of his, written to Secretary Cecyl in Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſaid, "That at his ordination he excepted againſt the "apparel; and by the Archbiſhop, and Biſhop Ridley, he "was nevertheleſs permitted and admitted." An ordination of prieſts and deacons. 192

All the divine offices were now reformed, but only that for ordination of miniſters. Therefore, for the doing of this, the council appointed twelve learned men, conſiſting half of biſhops, and half of other inferior divines; whoſe names I do not meet with, excepting Hethe, Biſhop of Worceſter: who, becauſe he would not aſſiſt in this work, was ſent to priſon. The chief of them no doubt was the Archbiſhop. After mature deliberation, this office was agreed upon, and The office of ordination reformed.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

finiſhed: and Ponet was the firſt biſhop conſecrated after this new form. And that I ſuppoſe may be the reaſon, that it is ſet down at length in the Archbiſhop's regiſter in that manner as it is there to be ſeen: as we ſhall ſee under the next year.

The Archbiſhop viſits ſome vacant churches. St. David's.

Upon the vacancy of cathedral churches the Archbiſhop uſed to viſit. So now the church of St. David's being vacant, upon the remove of Barlow to Bath and Wells, the Archbiſhop iſſued out a commiſſion to Eliſeus Price to viſit that church.

Gloceſter.

And upon the vacancy of Gloceſter by the death of Wakeman, there was a commiſſion to J. Williams, LL. D. and prebendary there, to be his commiſſary, and to viſit that church, and to be keeper of the ſpiritualties of the city and dioceſe of Gloceſter, in this third year of the King.

Norwich.

This year alſo the church of Norwich being become vacant by the reſignation of Repps, the Archbiſhop granted a commiſſion to John, Biſhop Suffragan of Thetford, and Dean of the church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich, to be his deputy and commiſſary for viſitation and juriſdiction. But, ſomewhat before this, he conſtituted Roland Taylor, LL. D. and William Wakefeld, D. D. to be keepers of the ſpiritualties of Norwich: from whoſe juriſdiction he proteſted not to derogate by thoſe his commiſſional letters to the Suffragan, nor to withdraw from them any authority of juriſdiction. This was dated February 15. Alſo the church of

London.

London being vacant by the deprivation and deſtitution of Boner, the Archbiſhop conſtituted Gabriel Donne, Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official, and keeper of the ſpiritualties, to exerciſe all manner of epiſcopal juriſdiction in the ſaid city and dioceſe.

A new Dean of the Arches.

This year he made Griffin Leyſon, LL. D. Dean of the Arches.

CHAP. XII.

Duke of Somerſet's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

WHEN moſt of the council had combined together, in the month of October, againſt the protector of the King's perſon, the Duke of Somerſet, and had withdrawn themſelves to Ely-houſe, the King then being at Hampton Court, and ſuddenly conveyed by the ſaid Duke to Windſor, upon the fear of tumult; then I find the Archbiſhop, and but two privy-counſellors more, with the King and the Protector there. Being here, the good Archbiſhop, though he would not forſake his friend the Duke, nor the King his maſter, yet he did what lay in him to appeaſe and pacify theſe heats. And ſo he, with the Lord Paget and Secretary Smith, in their own and the King's name, wrote an earneſt letter to the ſeparating counſellors, and ſent it by Sir Philip Hoby: wherein, as appears by their anſwer, "they were charged "by the Archbiſhop with creating much care and ſorrow to "the King, and that he thought they had not that care that "beſeemed them of pacifying the preſent uproars, and for "the preſervation of the ſtate from danger: that they forgat "the benefits they had received from the King's father, nor "were mindful of their duty of allegiance: that their doings "beſpake wilfulneſs; and that the Protector meant nothing "but the ſafety and protection of the King in what he had "done; and that he had that conſideration of his duty to "God, that the promiſe and oath he made required." They were adviſed to do as they would be done unto: and mention was made of cruelty more than once, charging them obliquely therewith. And in fine he wrote, that he, and thoſe with him, knew more than they did, to whom they writ. Probably he meant, that he knew that this anger againſt the Duke aroſe from the private malice of ſome of them, or their hatred of the reformation, notwithſtanding all the fair pretences of their care of the King, and the Protector's miſgovernment.

Anno 1549.

The Archbiſhop writes to the Lords at Ely-houſe.

193

This letter the Lords from Ely-houſe anſwered, charging

Their anſwer.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

and commanding the Archbiſhop, and thoſe with him, to have a continual earneſt watch of the King's perſon, and that he be not removed from Windſor-caſtle, as they would anſwer the ſame at their utmoſt perils. They wondered much, they ſaid, that they would ſuffer the King's royal perſon to remain in the guard of the Duke's men, and that ſtrangers ſhould be armed with the King's armour, and be neareſt about his perſon: for, it ſeems, many of the King's ſervants, in this fear, were removed away. They adviſed the Archbiſhop and the Lord Paget to come over to their ſide, and to leave the poor Duke alone. Upon this the Archbiſhop and the others wrote a ſecond letter, dated October the 10th: wherein they aſſured the Lords, that they could, whenſoever they pleaſed to require it, give ſuch very good reaſons for their ſo often mentioning cruelty in their other letter, as, they queſtioned not, they would be well ſatisfied with. And ſo, upon the Lords' propounding a meeting with the King and them, they accorded thereunto, in great prudence willing, for peace and quietneſs in that dangerous time, ſo to do. Theſe letters are recorded in the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 187, 188.

The Archbiſhop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed.

The Common Prayer-Book, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, by the great care and ſtudy of the Archbiſhop, was now finiſhed, and ſettled by act of parliament: which would not down with a great many. But upon the taking up of the Duke of Somerſet in the month of October, and laying him in the Tower, it was generally ſaid that now the old Latin ſervice ſhould come in again, the common opinion being, that the Common Prayer was peculiarly of his procuring. And that there were ſuch deſigns among Somerſet's enemies, who were generally favourers of the old religion, it is not improbable. The good Archbiſhop thought it now time to interpoſe in this thing, and to obtain from the privy-council ſomewhat to confirm the book of Common Prayer. So there was in December 25, a general letter drawn up to all the biſhops of England: letting them underſtand, "That there was no intention of bringing in again Latin ſervice, conjured bread and water, nor any ſuch abrogated ceremonies: and that the aboliſhing of theſe, and the ſetting forth of

1941

CHAP. XII. Anno 1549.

"the book of Common Prayer, was done by the whole "state of the realm. That the book was grounded upon "the holy Scripture, and was agreeable to the order of the "primitive church, and much to the edifying of the subject: "and therefore that the changing of that for the old Latin "service would be a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, "darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry "and superstition again. The bishops therefore were bid "with all speed to command their deans and prebendaries, "and all parsons, vicars, and curates, to bring to such places "as the bishops should appoint, all antiphoners, missals, &c. "and all other books of service: and that they be defaced "and abolished, that they be no let to that godly and uni- "form order set forth. And to commit to ward any stub- "born and disobedient persons that brought not the said "books, and to certify the council of their misbehaviour. "That they should make search, if any of these superstitious "books were withdrawn or hid. That whereas there were "some persons who refused to contribute to the buying of "bread and wine for the communion, according to the "order of the book, whereby many times the holy com- "munion was fain to be omitted; to convent such persons "before them, and admonish them: and if they refused "to do accordingly, to punish them by suspension, excom- "munication, or other censure." This was signed by the Archbishop and the Lord Chancellor Rich, and four more.

CHAP. XIII.

The Archbishop entertains learned Foreigners.

The Archbishop harbours learned strangers.

THE Archbishop had now in his family several learned men. Some he sent for from beyond sea, and some in pity he entertained, being exiles for religion. Among the former sort was Martin Bucer, a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the reformation of Germany. While he and the rest abode under his roof, the Archbishop still employed them, sometimes in learned con-

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

ferences and conſultations held with them, ſometimes in writing their judgment upon ſome ſubjects in divinity. Here Bucer wrote to the Lady Elizabeth a letter, bearing date the 6th of the calends of September, commending her ſtudy in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein: incited ſo to do, I make no doubt, by the Archbiſhop, whom Bucer in that letter makes mention of, and ſtyleth *Patrem ſuum, et benigniſſimum hoſpitem*. Hence alſo he wrote another letter to the Marquis of Northampton (who was a patron of learning, and a profeſſor of religion) in the behalf of Sleidan, who was promiſed a penſion by the King, to enable him to write the hiſtory of the progreſs of religion, beginning at Luther. A part of the letter, tranſlated into Engliſh, ran thus.

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miſcellan. A. 195

"Therefore, if we ſhould not take care that this ſo great "act of divine goodneſs towards us [*viz.* the reformation "began in the year 1517] ſhould be moſt diligently written "and conſecrated to poſterity, we ſhould lie under the "crime of the neglect of God's glory, and moſt foul in- "gratitude. Therefore John Sleidan, a very learned and "eloquent man, five years ago began to compile an hiſtory "of this nature, as the work he had publiſhed did witneſs: "but after he was much encouraged in this undertaking, "and well furniſhed with matter, the calamities that befel "Germany, for our own deſerts, intercepted the pious at- "tempts of this man, ſo very uſeful to the church. Nor "doth it appear now from whence, beſides the King's "Majeſty, we may hope that ſome ſmall benignity may be "obtained for Sleidan; ſince the ſalaries, which he received "for this purpoſe from the German Princes, failed; and he "was poor. That John Alaſco, Dr. Peter Martyr, and he, "conſidering theſe things, and weighing how the truly "chriſtian King Edward was even born with a deſire of "illuſtrating the glory of Chriſt, and what need there was "to ſet Sleidan again upon finiſhing the Hiſtory of the "Goſpel reſtored to us; they had therefore preſumed to "ſupplicate the King in his behalf, and intreated the "Marquis to promote and forward their ſupplication, and "to vouchſafe to contribute his help alſo." We ſhall hear more of this hereafter.

CHAP. XIII.

I find alſo annotations writ by the ſaid Bucer upon St. Matthew, reaching as far as the eighth chapter, and there ending, in this method: There is the Latin tranſlation, with large notes added in the margin; and at the end of each chapter common places collected from thence in the nature of inferences and obſervations: which I conclude the Archbiſhop put him upon doing while he was now with him. The work was looked over and examined by the Archbiſhop, notes and corrections of his own hand being here and there inſerted. Alſo the Goſpel of St. Mark is handled in the ſame method, by another of the Archbiſhop's gueſts: which writing hath this inſcription by Cranmer's hand; *Petrus Alexander in Marcum.*

Anno 1549. Bucer writes in the Archbiſhop's family. MSS. C.C.C.C. Miſcellan. D.

At this time therefore there were at the Archbiſhop's houſe, (beſides Bucer,) Alaſco, Peter Martyr, Paulus Fagius, Peter Alexander, Bernardine Ochin, Mat. Negelinus, (after a miniſter of Straſburgh,) who accompanied Bucer and Fagius into England, and others, whoſe names do not occur. Three of theſe were ſoon after preferred to public places of reading in the univerſities. Peter Alexander was of Artois, and lived with the Archbiſhop before Bucer came into England. He was a learned man, but had different ſentiments in the matter of the Euchariſt, inclining to the belief of a corporeal preſence with the Lutherans: though ſome years after he came over to a righter judgment, as his companion Peter Martyr ſignified to Calvin, in a letter wrote from Straſburgh.

The Archbiſhop's gueſts.

196

Calvin. Ep. 197.

Peter Martyr coming about the beginning of the year 1549, unto the univerſity of Oxford, his firſt readings were upon the eleventh chapter of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians: in which chapter is ſome diſcourſe of the Lord's Supper. The profeſſor, when he came ſo far, took occaſion to expatiate more largely upon that argument; and the rather, that he might ſtate it aright in the midſt of thoſe hot conteſts that were then about it among learned men. Theſe lectures on the ſacrament he ſoon after printed at London, for the benefit of the world, (as they were two years after done at Zurick,) and dedicated them to his patron the Archbiſhop. And that partly to give a public teſtimony of his ſenſe of the Archbiſhop's great humanity

Martyr dedicates his lectures at Oxon to the Archbiſhop.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

and benefits towards him: "which were ſo large, that he "muſt do nothing elſe but tell of them, to be ſufficiently "thankful for them. And known it was to all," as he ſaid, "how obligingly he received, and how liberally he enter- "tained, both himſelf, and many other ſtrangers of his rank "and condition. And partly that by his authority he "would protect and defend what he ſhould find in his book "to be conſonant to the holy Scriptures, and agreeable to "the King's laws. For he had," he ſaid, "ſkill and in- "duſtry enough to do it; who had himſelf often, both in "public and private, conflicted with the adverſaries, and "with admirable learning, accuracy of wit, and dexterity, "vindicated the truth from the ſpinous and confuſed cavils "of ſophiſters. Nor did he want will to ſtand up for ſound "and chriſtian doctrines, as all good men knew: who ſaw "how earneſt he was in his labours of reſtoring religion; "that for that cauſe he drew upon himſelf many enmities "and threatening dangers."

The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer to come over.

The firſt occaſion of Bucer's call into England was thus. He had wrote to John Hales (a learned Engliſhman, his acquaintance) the ſad eſtate of Germany, and that he could ſcarce ſtay any longer in the place where he was. This Hales acquainted the Archbiſhop with; which made a great impreſſion upon his compaſſionate ſoul, and he brake out into thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Mirifica miſericordias tuas, qui ſalvos facis ſperantes in te a reſiſtentibus dexteræ tuæ.* And forthwith writ to Bucer a letter in October 1548, to come over to this realm, which ſhould be a moſt ſafe harbour for him, urging him to become a labourer in the Lord's harveſt here begun; and uſing other arguments with him to move him hereunto, in the moſt obliging ſtyle poſſible, calling him, *My Bucer.* And that he might come over the ſafer from harms and enemies, the Archbiſhop recommended him to one Hills, an Engliſh merchant, to provide for his paſſage. The Archbiſhop's letter may be found No. XLIII. in the Appendix. To this letter Bucer wrote an anſwer, ſeeming, upon ſome conſiderations, to decline the Archbiſhop's invitation. This letter coming to the Archbiſhop's hands, he ſhewed to Peter Alexander; who, by the Archbiſhop's order, wrote back to Bucer, in the ſaid Archbiſhop's

and the Protector's name, to call him again over; which letter was dated March 24, from Lambeth; telling him withal, that the good old man Latimer saluted him. Letters, I suppose, of the same import, were also dispatched to the learned Fagius. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1549. 197

Bucer and Fagius, who were thus honourably invited into England by repeated letters of the Lord Protector and Archbishop Cranmer, were by them also nominated for public professors in the university of Cambridge, the one of divinity, the other of the Hebrew tongue. This was looked on by their friends as a notable piece of God's good providence, that when these two eminent champions of the true religion were in so much present danger in Germany, so seasonable a refuge was provided for them elsewhere. They both arrived safe in England in the end of April, and abode with the Archbishop above a quarter of a year, until towards the end of the long vacation, the Archbishop intending they should be at Cambridge when the term should begin, in order to their reading. During this interval, while they continued at Lambeth, they were not idle; being every day busied in some study and exercise agreeable to their function, as was hinted before. But the main of their thoughts were taken up in preparing for their university lectures: which, of what subject-matter they should be, the Archbishop himself directed. As it had been a great while his pious and most earnest desire, that the holy Bible should come abroad in the greatest exactness, and true agreement with the original text: so he laid this work upon these two learned men. First, that they should give a clear, plain, and succinct interpretation of the Scripture, according to the propriety of the language. And, secondly, illustrate difficult and obscure places, and reconcile those that seemed repugnant to one another. And it was his will and his advice, that to this end and purpose their public readings should tend. This pious and good work, by the Archbishop assigned to them, they most gladly and readily undertook. For their more regular carrying on this business, they allotted to each other, by consent, their distinct talks. Fagius, because his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to undertake the Old Testament; and Bucer

Bucer and Fagius professors at Cambridge.

Vit. P. Fag. per Ministr. aliquos Eccles. Argent.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

the New. The leiſure they now enjoyed with the Archbiſhop, they ſpent in preparing their reſpective lectures. Fagius entered upon the evangelical Prophet Eſaias, and Bucer upon the Goſpel of the Evangeliſt John: and ſome chapters in each book were diſpatched by them. But it was not long, but both of them fell ſick: which gave a very unhappy ſtop to their ſtudies.

Fagius dies.

Fagius his diſtemper proved mortal; who was ſeized at firſt with a very acute fever. And notwithſtanding phyſic and attendance, remaining very ill, he had a great deſire to remove to Cambridge to his charge appointed him, hoping the change of air might help him. He made a ſhift to travel thither, leaving his dear colleague ſick behind him. But Fagius ſtill declining in his health, ardently deſired Bucer's company: who on the fifth of November came to Cambridge. And ten days after Fagius deceaſed, aged about forty-five years, to the extraordinary loſs of that univerſity, and the grief of all pious men that wiſhed well to religion: and, which was moſt to be lamented, before he had given any ſpecimen of his learning and abilities in England; though he had already given many to the world: all ſhewing what a maſter he was in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. His publiſhed labours of this nature (all within the ſpace of ſix years) may be ſeen in the Appendix: which I have placed there for the preſerving the memory of that learned profeſſor, which our univerſity of Cambridge was once honoured with.

Num. XLIV.

The Archbiſhop ſends money to Fagius's widow.

The good Archbiſhop, troubled at the ſudden death of this learned man, from whom he had promiſed himſelf ſome great good to accrue to the univerſity, ſent a letter, November the laſt, unto his ſorrowful companion Bucer, deſiring him, among other things, as from him, to comfort Fagius's widow, and to let her know, that he had ſent her by the carrier ſeven and twenty pounds, which was part of the ſtipend due out of the exchequer to her huſband: which, although it were not yet paid into Cranmer's hands, yet he thought good to ſend her the money ſo ſoon, that it might be ſome alleviation of her preſent ſorrow. There were fifty pounds due for his readings, reckoning from Lady-day laſt, when his penſion began; but three pounds

were disburſed for charges in taking out the patent, and twenty pounds the Archbiſhop had ſent him before. CHAP. XIII.

Anno 1549.

Bucer above all lamented the loſs of his mate, and wrote a forrowful letter *ad fratres et ſymmyſtas*, to his brethren and fellow-miniſters in Germany upon this ſubject. And in a letter to P. Martyr, then at Oxon, he not only complained of this heavy loſs, but, as if himſelf were like to follow him, of ſeveral things that made him uneaſy at Cambridge, where he was now placed; as of the want of a convenient houſe, of a body impatient of cold, which the time of the year made him begin to feel, need of neceſſaries: that the letters patents were not yet ſigned, [for his ſalary,] and the ſlow and uncertain payment of his penſion. But Cranmer, out of that high reſpect he had for him, was not wanting in his diligence in due time to make all eaſy to him; and to have ſo uſeful and grave a man well provided for. But the next year, the laſt day of February, Bucer followed his companion to the other world: but not before he had made himſelf and his learning known to the univerſity: which, to qualify him to moderate at the public diſputations at the Commencement, had given him the degree of doctor, as a peculiar honour done him, without the common rites and forms ordinarily uſed in thoſe caſes. Yet he choſe to do his exerciſes, reſponding the firſt day of the Commencement, and oppoſing the ſecond, with great learning, and no leſs ſatisfaction of the univerſity.

Bucer laments his loſs. MSS. C. C. C. C.

CHAP. XIV.

Peter Martyr diſputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

THE Papiſts in both univerſities were reſolved to try the metal and learning of their new profeſſors; being exceedingly nettled at their coming, and offended at their readings.

Thoſe of P. Martyr at Oxon highly provoked many in that univerſity, that could not endure to hear the old error of the corporeal preſence oppoſed. And of ſuch there were

P. Martyr challenged publicly to a diſputation.

BOOK II. Anno 1549. 199

not a few, and especially the heads of the colleges; the elder sort being more stiff and prejudiced to their old ways and opinions. This doctrine of the sacrament was first obscured, and afterwards depraved: and so this error being entertained, became a door for the letting in a flood of superstition and idolatry into the church. This Martyr well knew, and therefore with wonderful pains endeavoured to vindicate the truth of the Eucharist from error and corruption. And this procured him many enemies here. For they could not endure him: and first raised up among the people slanders against him; as though he impugned the doctrine of the ancients, and shook the laudable ceremonies of the church, and profaned the sacrament of the altar, and in effect trampled it under his feet. And this noise being a little stilled, not long after, the day before he was to read publicly, they set up bills in English upon all the doors of the churches, that on such a day there should be a public disputation about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, Martyr knowing nothing of it, though he was designed to be the disputant. The day being come, the schools were filled with great numbers of such who favoured the Papists: and these were instructed to be ready to make loud clamours and tumults, and to proceed to blows, if need were. The students also and the townsmen flocked together at the noise of this dispute, to see the event, and to make a party, according as they stood affected. When the day was come, notwithstanding his friends persuaded him not to adventure himself to read that day, lest he might incur some danger, he went and did his duty. For he said, "he would not be wanting to his office, nor neglect the "place the King had intrusted him with; and that there "were many, that came questionless to hear his lectures, "whom he would not disappoint." As he, with his friends accompanying him, went to his reading, a servant of Richard Smith, D. D. whom we have before spoke of, the chief in this plot, met him, and delivered him a letter from his master, wherein he challenged him to a dispute that day.

Vit. Mart. per Simler.

His answer hereunto.

Being come to the chair, he gently told his adversaries, in a modest speech to them, "that he refused not to dispute,

" but that at that time he came to read, and not to diſpute." And ſo themſelves yielding to it, he proceeded to his lecture: which he performed with much conſtancy and undauntedneſs, without the leaſt diſturbance of mind, or change of countenance or colour, or heſitation in his ſpeech, notwithſtanding the murmur and noiſe of the adverſaries. Which got him much credit and applauſe. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1549.

As ſoon as he had done his reading, the adverſaries began to make loud cries that he ſhould diſpute, and eſpecially Smith the champion. But he modeſtly refuſed it, and ſaid, " he would do it at another time, and that he was not then " prepared, becauſe they had ſo ſtudiouſly concealed the " propoſitions to be diſputed of, and had not propounded " them publicly, according to the accuſtomed manner; and " that he knew nothing of them till that very day." But they told him, " he could not be unprepared, who had read " ſo much of the Lord's ſupper, whatſoever arguments they " propounded in this matter." They ſtill rudely urging him; he ſaid, " he would do nothing in ſuch a matter, without " the King were firſt made privy to it, eſpecially when the " thing tended to ſedition. Moreover, for a lawful diſputa- " tion, it was requiſite," he ſaid, " that certain queſtions be " propounded, judges and moderators conſtituted; and pub- " lic notaries be preſent, that might impartially and faithfully " write down the arguments and ſpeeches on both ſides." Declines it at preſent, and why. 200

In fine, the matter came to that paſs, that, fearing a tumult, the Vicechancellor decided the controverſy after this manner; " That both P. Martyr, and Smith, with ſome " friends, ſhould meet in his houſe, and ſhould appoint " the propoſitions to be diſputed of, the time, the order and " manner of diſputation." And ſo the Vicechancellor, the beadle making him way, went to the pulpit where the profeſſor was, and took him by the hand, and led him down through the crowds to his own houſe, his friends going along with him; and among the reſt Sidal and Curtop, then vigorous defenders of the truth; but after, in Queen Mary's days, revolting. Smith alſo, and his friends Cole, Oglethorp, and three more, repaired to the Vicechancellor; where it was agreed, after ſome jangling, that Martyr ſhould obſerve the ſame order in confuting as he did in They agree upon the conditions of a diſputation.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

teaching; and abſtaining from ſtrange, barbarous, and ambiguous words, wont to be uſed in the ſchools: he ſaid, he would uſe only *carnaliter* and *corporaliter*, *realiter* and *ſubſtantialiter*, becauſe the Scripture uſeth only the words *fleſh* and *body*, *res* or *ſubſtantia*. And ſo it was agreed; and the day ſet was the fourth of May enſuing. And it was agreed alſo on both ſides, that all this whole matter ſhould be ſignified to the council, that they might have cognizance of the thing. And by them the day of the diſputation was appointed, when ſome from the King, as judges and keepers of peace, would be preſent at it. The Papiſts reported falſely, that he, having appointed the time of the diſputation to be ten days hence; in the mean time got the magiſtrates acquainted with this affair, that they might ſtop and forbid it, (which they did indeed, proroguing it till ſome months after the firſt challenge.) And that afterwards, when the Profeſſor ſaw his opportunity, he provoked to a public diſputation, offering to diſpute of his queſtions formerly propounded, and thought there would be none to take him up. For Smith, they ſay, ſmelt out ſome crafty device taken againſt him, and ſo appeared not at the diſpute. And then indeed few thought convenient to be there, their plot of making a rout and confuſion being ſpoiled. Indeed Smith, conſcious to himſelf of making this tumult, fled before the day came, and went into Scotland. But Dr. Treſham, a zealous man, that this cauſe might not fall, was deſirous to undertake the diſputation; and did ſo, with Dr. Chedſey, and Mr. Morgan, before the King's viſitors: who were Henry Biſhop of Lincoln; Dr. Cox, Chancellor of that univerſity; Dr. Simon Haines, Dean of Exeter; Richard Moriſon, Eſquire; Chriſtopher Neviſon, doctor of civil law. Before theſe honourable umpires, (who came with the King's letters patents,) the diſputation concerning tranſubſtantiation, and the carnal preſence in the ſacrament, laſted four days; wherein P. Martyr the reſpondent did acquit himſelf very ſufficiently, both from Scripture and Fathers. The ſum of
201 which may be ſeen in Fox's Monuments, and the whole in Martyr's works, in that part thereof intituled, *De Euchariſtia Diſputatio.*

They diſpute.

The firſt day of the diſputation was May the 28th:

CHAP. XIV. Anno 1549.

it was managed between Martyr and Treſham. Dr. Cox, the Chancellor, began with a ſpeech. Then Martyr made his proemial oration and prayer. Then Treſham ſucceeded with another oration, beſtowing ſome praiſes upon Martyr: which he replying upon, and briefly and modeſtly declining, began his argument. The next diſputation, on May 29, was between Martyr and Chedzey; after Martyr had made a ſhort ſpeech and prayer, and Chedzey his preface. The third action was between Morgan, Treſham, and Martyr. The diſputation of the fourth day, June 1, was again between Chedzey and Martyr. And then all was concluded by another ſpeech uttered by the ſaid Chancellor. Wherein he had theſe words: "Peter (and a Peter indeed "for his ſteady conſtancy) Martyr (and rightly called Mar-"tyr, for the numberleſs teſtimonies by him produced in the "behalf of truth) muſt needs obtain much favour and reſpect "from us, and all good men; Firſt, that he hath taken ſuch "vaſt pains in ſtanding under even a burden of diſputations. "For if *not Hercules himſelf againſt two*, what ſhall we "think of Peter alone againſt all? Secondly, that he hath "undertook the challenge of a diſputation: and ſo ſtopped "the vain ſpeeches of vain men, who diſperſed envious and "odious inſinuations concerning him; as that either he would "not, or dared not, to maintain his own tenets. And, laſtly, "that he hath ſo excellently well anſwered the expectation of "the chief magiſtrates, and ſo of the King himſelf; while he "hath not only recommended to the univerſity the doctrine "of Chriſt from God's lively fountains, but alſo hath not per-"mitted any (as much as lay in him) to muddy or obſtruct "them." But I refer the reader for the reſt to Dr. Cox's own oration. [Num. XLIV.]

Martyr ſends the ſum of the diſputation to the Archbiſhop.

The Profeſſor drew up the whole four days diſputation ſoon after, and ſent it by his conſtant friend and companion Julius, to his patron the Archbiſhop. And with the ſame meſſenger he conveyed a letter, dated June 15, to Bucer, then at the Archbiſhop's houſe, concerning his ſaid diſputation. Therein he ſignified the obſtinacy and boldneſs of his opponents; and that he feared, "That his doctrines he then "maintained might not altogether ſquare with Bucer's "judgment. But he ſaid in his own juſtification, that he

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

" granted the body of Chriſt was preſent to us by faith, and " that we are incorporated into him by communication. He " confeſſed here, that we do partake of the matter of the " ſacrament, namely, the body and blood of Chriſt; but he " meant it in mind and faith. And in the mean time he " granted, that the Holy Ghoſt is efficacious in the ſacra- " ments, by virtue of the Lord's inſtitution. But that which " he eſpecially endeavoured to aſſert, was, that they mixed " not the body and blood of Chriſt carnally with the bread " and wine, by any corporeal preſence. Nor yet would he " have the ſacrament to be ſymbols without honour and re- " verence. Another thing he aſſerted, which he thought " might offend Bucer, was, That it was not agreeable to the " body of Chriſt, however glorified, to be in many places at
202 " once. But for this, he wrote Bucer, as he urged in the " diſputation, that the Scripture obliged to no ſuch belief; " how the reaſon of an human body reclaimed againſt it; " and the Fathers affirmed that ſuch a quality was granted " to no creature, but belonged to God alone." And ſo, inviting him, and Fagius and Alexander, to Oxford, concluded his letter.

The diſputation publiſhed by Martyr;

But when the Papiſts diſperſed vain ſtories and many falſehoods concerning this buſineſs, he was forced, his friends alſo urging him thereunto, to publiſh an account hereof. And with what fidelity and diligence he drew up his book, the teſtimonies of two of the King's counſellors, ear-witneſſes, added thereto, ſufficiently confirmed. In the preface to his relation of theſe diſputes, he aſſigned two reaſons that made him publiſh them. The one was, the calumnies of evil men; the other, the deſires of his friends. Under the former he complained, " how he was by his adverſaries beſpattered " among all ſorts of people, princes, nobles, commons, citi- " zens, clowns: and that all corners, ſtreets, houſes, ſhops, " taverns, ſounded their triumphs over him; and he doubted " not, that it was diſperſed by them into other nations. " Upon theſe conſiderations, his great patron, the Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury, (to whom he dared to deny no- " thing,) and the King's viſitors, beſides others of his " friends, had adviſed and deſired him to put forth theſe his " diſputations in his own vindication, and in the vindication

Quid enim negare auſim Rever. Archiepiſcopo Cant. cui plane omnia debeo? In Præfat. ad Diſp.

" of the truth. Thefe he profeffed to write with all fidelity: CHAP.
" and, that he might be the more exact, he had compared XIV.
" his own collections with the relations that were drawn Anno 1549.
" up by the adverfaries; and that, having read theirs, what
" he could recall that he had before omitted, which was of
" any moment, he reftored out of their writings."

But Trefham, the chief difputant, pretending himfelf ag- And by Trefham.
grieved with this book, as though Martyr had therein mif-
repreſented him, and expreſſed ſome indignation againſt
him, and added ſome things that were not ſpoken; wrote
himſelf another account of this diſputation, in juſtification
of himſelf againſt the Profeſſor; and ſet a preface before it,
by way of epiſtle, to the King's privy-council. Wherein he
moſt angrily beſpattered this reverend man, calling him
" *Pſeudo-Martyr*, a doting old man, ſubverted, impudent,
" and the famous maſter of errors: and that he fled into
" Germany to obtain the more licence for his luſt, and that
" he might enjoy his adultery," meaning his wife. The diſ-
putation itſelf is too long to be tranſcribed; it is extant
among the Foxian manuſcripts. But the epiſtle dedica-
tory, or preface before it, I will not omit, that the reader No. XLV.
may there obſerve the malicious ſpirit of Martyr's adverſa-
ries, and collect ſome further account of this diſputation.
But the reader muſt remember, that it was an angry an-
tagoniſt that wrote it.

Dr. Smith, who had done his beſt to cauſe a riot in the Smith
univerſity, and thereby to endanger the King's profeſſor, and writes to
was therefore got away into Scotland; conſcious likewiſe biſhop from
to himſelf of calumnies and wrongs done by him againſt the Scotland.
Archbiſhop; ſome time after wrote to the Archbiſhop a ſub-
miſſive letter, praying him " to forgive all the injuries he 203
" had done his Grace, and to obtain the King's pardon for
" him, that he might return home again. And he promiſed
" to write a book for the marriage of prieſts, as he had done
" before againſt it. That he was the more deſirous to come
" home into England, becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould be put
" upon writing againſt his Grace's book of the ſacrament,
" and all his proceedings in religion, being then har-
" boured," as he would make it believed, " by ſuch as re-
" quired it at his hands." But in Queen Mary's days he re-

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

volted again, and was a moſt zealous Papiſt, and then did that indeed, which he gave ſome hints of before; for he wrote vehemently againſt Cranmer's book.

Diſputations at Cambridge before the commiſſioners.

But from Oxford, let us look over to Cambridge: where diſputations likewiſe were held in the month of June, before the King's commiſſioners, who were Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, Mr. Cheke, Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy, the King's Phyſician. The queſtions were, "That tranſubſtantiation could not be proved by Scripture, "nor be confirmed by the conſent of ancient fathers for a "thouſand years paſt. And that the Lord's ſupper is no "oblation or ſacrifice, otherwiſe than a remembrance of "Chriſt's death." There were three ſolemn diſputations. In the firſt, Dr. Madew was reſpondent; and Glyn, Langdale, Sedgwick, and Yong, opponents. In the ſecond, Dr. Glyn was reſpondent on the popiſh ſide; opponents, Pern, Grindal, Gueſt, Pilkington. In the third, Dr. Pern was reſpondent; Parker, Pollard, Vavaſor, Yong, opponents. After theſe diſputations were ended, the Biſhop of Rocheſter determined the truth of theſe queſtions *ad placitum ſuum*, as a Papiſt wrote, out of whoſe notes I tranſcribe the names of theſe diſputants.

Bucer diſputes.

Beſides theſe diſputations, when Bucer came to Cambridge, he was engaged in another with Sedgwick, Pern, and Yong, upon theſe queſtions. "I. That the canonical "books of Scripture alone do teach ſufficiently all things "neceſſary to ſalvation. II. That there is no church in "earth that erreth not, as well in faith as manners. "III. That we are ſo freely juſtified of God, that, before "our juſtification, whatſoever good works we ſeem to do "have the nature of ſin." Concerning this laſt, he and Yong had ſeveral combats: which are ſet down in his Engliſh works.

His judgment of the ſacrament.

As to Bucer's opinion of the preſence in the ſacrament, the great controverſy of this time, it may not be amiſs to conſider what ſo great a profeſſor thought herein; and eſpecially by what we ſaw before, that Martyr and he did ſomewhat differ in this point: for as he would not admit thoſe words *carnally* and *naturally*, ſo neither did he like *realiter* and *ſubſtantialiter*. Bucer's judgment, drawn up by

himself sententiously in fifty-four aphorisms, may be seen in the Appendix, as I meet with it among Fox's papers. It is extant in Latin among his *Scripta Anglicana*, and entitled, *Confessio D. M. Buc. de Sancta Eucharistia, in Anglia Aphoristicos scripta, Anno* 1550. And so we take our leave of Bucer for this year. We shall hear of him again in the next. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1549. No. XLVI.

CHAP. XV. 204

Matters of the Church, and its State now.

LET me now crave a little room to set down some matters that relate to the church, coming within the compass of this year; which will shew what mean advances religion as yet had made in the nation.

Divers relicks of popery still continued in the nation, by means partly of the bishops, partly of the justices of peace, popishly affected. In London Bishop Boner drove on but heavily in the King's proceedings, though he outwardly complied. In his cathedral church there remained still the Apostles' mass, and our Lady's mass, and other masses under the defence and nomination of our Lady's communion, used in the private chapels, and other remote places of the same church, though not in the chancel; contrary to the King's proceedings. Therefore the Lord Protector, and others of the council, wrote to the Bishop, June 24, complaining of this, and ordering that no such masses should be used in St. Paul's church any longer; and that the holy communion, according to the act of parliament, should be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other place of the same, and only at such times as the high masses were wont to be used; except some number of people, for their necessary business, desired to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be exercised in the chancel at the high altar, as was appointed in the book of Public Service. Accordingly Boner directed his letters to the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, to call together those that were resident, and to declare these matters. Relicks of popery remaining. Fox's Acts.

As it was thus in London, so in the countries, too many

BOOK II. Anno 1549. The council gives orders to the juſtices.

of the juſtices were ſlack in ſeeing to the execution of the King's laws, relating not only to religion, but to other affairs. And in ſome ſhires that were further diſtant, the people had never ſo much as heard of the King's proclamation, by the default of the juſtices, who winked at the people's neglect thereof. For the quickening of the juſtices of peace at this time, when a foreign invaſion was daily expected, and foreign power was come into Scotland to aid that nation againſt England; the Lord Protector and the privy-council aſſembled at the Star-Chamber, and called before them all the juſtices, (which was a thing accuſtomed ſometimes to be done, for the juſtices to appear before the King and council, there to have admonitions and warnings given them for the diſcharge of their duty.) And then the Lord Chancellor Rich made a ſpeech to them, "That they "ſhould repair down into their ſeveral countries with ſpeed; "and give warning to other gentlemen to go down to their "houſes, and there to ſee good order and rule kept, that "their ſeſſions of gaol-delivery, and quarter-ſeſſions be well "obſerved, that vagabonds and ſeditious tale-bearers of the "King or his council, and ſuch as preached without licence, "be repreſſed and puniſhed. That if there ſhould be any "uproars, or routs, and riots of lewd fellows, or privy traitors, they ſhould appeaſe them. And that if any enemy "ſhould chance to ariſe in any place of England, they "ſhould fire the beacons, as had been wrote to them before, "and repulſe the ſame in as good array as they could. "And that for that purpoſe they ſhould ſee diligently that "men have horſe, harneſs, and other furniture of weapon "ready."

And writes to the biſhops.

And to the biſhops the council now ſent letters again for redreſs of the contempt and neglect of the book of Common Prayer; which to this time, long after the publiſhing thereof, was either not known at all to many, or very irreverently uſed: occaſioned eſpecially by the winking of the biſhops, and the ſtubborn diſobedience of old popiſh curates. The letter is dated the 23d of July, and is extant in Fox.

Neglect in London.

In London, by the connivance and remiſsneſs of the Biſhop, many neglected the divine ſervice then eſtabliſhed: and others did in ſecret places of the dioceſe often frequent

the popiſh maſs, and other ſuperſtitious rites, not allowed by the laws of England. The ſins of adultery greatly increaſed. The churches, and particularly the mother-church of St. Paul's, ran into dilapidations; the glaſs was broken, and the ornaments and other buildings belonging to churches neglected. Many refuſed to pay tithes to their curates, probably of both ſorts; ſuch as were Papiſts, to thoſe curates as more diligently preached reformation, and obeyed the King's laws: and ſuch as were not ſo, to ſuch curates as were more backward thereunto. Biſhop Boner alſo himſelf now ſeldom came to church, ſeldomer preached and celebrated the Engliſh communion. Wherefore the council ſent certain private injunctions to Boner for the redreſs of theſe things: "That he ſhould preach in his own perſon "at Paul's Croſs, and declare certain articles, relating to the "before-mentioned neglects, which the council now ſent "to him to redreſs. That he ſhould preach once in a quar-"ter, and exhort the people to obedience; and that he "ſhould be preſent at every ſermon at Paul's Croſs. That "he ſhould on the principal feaſts celebrate the communion, "and at all times that his predeceſſors uſed to celebrate "and ſing high maſs. That he ſhould call before him all "ſuch as did not frequent the church and common-prayer, "and the holy communion, and puniſh them, as alſo adul-"terers: and that he ſhould look to the reparation of St. "Paul's and other churches, and that the people pay their "tithes."

CHAP. XV. Anno 1549.

The adulteries before hinted, which the council thought fit to recommend to the Biſhop to take particular cognizance of, makes me add, that about this time the nation grew infamous for this crime. It began among the nobility, and ſo ſpread at length among the inferior ſort. Noblemen would very frequently put away their wives, and marry others, if they liked another woman better, or were like to obtain wealth by her. And they would ſometimes pretend their former wives to be falſe to their beds, and ſo be divorced, and marry again ſuch whom they fancied. The firſt occaſion of this ſeemed to be in the Earl of Northampton divorcing himſelf from his firſt wife Anne, daughter to the Earl of Eſſex, and after marrying Elizabeth, daughter to

Adulteries frequent.

BOOK II. Anno 1549. 206

the Lord Cobham. In like manner Henry, ſon of William Earl of Pembroke, put away Katharine, daughter to Henry the Duke of Suffolk, and married Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney. Theſe adulteries and divorces increaſed much; yea, and marrying again without divorce; which became a great ſcandal to the realm, and to the religion profeſſed in it, and gave much ſorrow and trouble in good men to ſee it: inſomuch that they thought it neceſſary to move for an act of parliament to puniſh adultery with death. This Latimer, in a ſermon preached in the year 1550, ſignified to the King: "For the love of God," ſaith he, "take "an order for marriage here in England."

Books diſperſed by Proteſtants.

This is ſome account of the retardation of religion. On the other hand, the endeavours of thoſe that wiſhed well to it were not wanting. Now the Proteſtants began more freely to put forth books, and to diſperſe ſuch as were formerly printed beyond ſea, in the behalf of religion againſt popery, and concerning ſuch as had ſuffered under the cruelties of the church of Rome. Bale about theſe days diſperſed his books. One was, *The Image of both Churches*, applying the divine prophecy of the Revelations to the apoſtate church of Rome. Another was, a vindication of the Lady Anne Aſcue, who ſuffered the cruel death of burning about the end of King Henry's reign: whoſe cauſe the Papiſts ſtudiouſly had rendered bad. This book he entitled, *The Elucidation of Anne Aſcue's Martyrdom*: which was this year expoſed publicly to ſale at Wincheſter, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was the great cauſe of her death. Four of theſe books came to that Biſhop's own eyes, being then at Wincheſter; they had leaves put in as additions to the book, ſome glued and ſome unglued: which probably contained ſome further intelligences that the author had gathered ſince his firſt writing of the book. And herein ſome reflections were made freely, according to Bale's talent, upon ſome of the court, not ſparing Paget himſelf, though then ſecretary of ſtate. Another of Bale's books, that went now about, was touching the death of Luther. Therein was a prayer of the Duke of Saxony mentioned, which the Biſhop of Wincheſter gladly took hold on; wherein that

Duke, as to the juſtneſs of his cauſe, remitted "himſelf to "God's judgment to be ſhewed on him here in this world, "if the cauſe he undertook were not juſt concerning reli- "gion; and deſired God, if it were not good, to order him "to be taken and ſpoiled of his honours and poſſeſſions." Since which the Duke was taken priſoner: and, at the very time of his taking, the Papiſts made an obſervation, that the ſun appeared ſo ſtrangely in England, as the like had not been ſeen before. So apt are men to interpret events according to their own preconceived opinions. But at this Winchester took much advantage. Whereas indeed the iſſues of God's providence in this world are not favourable always even to the beſt cauſes. CHAP. XV. Anno 1549. Letter to the Lord Protector.

The keeping of Lent was now called into controverſy; and aſſerted, that it was not to be obſerved upon a religious account. And this was done the rather, becauſe the Papiſts placed ſo much religion in the bare faſt. In the pulpit it began to be cried down. Tongue and Joſeph, two great preachers in London, ſaid, "That Lent was one of Chriſt's "miracles, which God ordained not men to imitate or fol- "low: and that it was an inſupportable burden." There was a ſet of rhymes now made about the burial of Lent, which was called, *Jack of Lent's Teſtament*, and publicly ſold in Wincheſter market: therein Stephen Gardiner the Biſhop was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad Stephen Stockfiſh was bequeathed in this will to Stephen Gardiner. Of this he made a long complaint to the Protector. But yet this neglect of Lent was not encouraged by the ſuperiors: for it was kept at court, and preparations for the King's diet were made accordingly this Lent by the Protector. The Proteſtants indeed were for keeping it, and an order was iſſued out for that purpoſe; though not upon a religious, but politic account. But the greater part of the ordinary people would not be brought to it by this diſtinction: ſo that the preachers were fain to be employed. Latimer preached, "That thoſe that re- "garded not laws and ſtatutes, were deſpiſers of magiſtrates. "There be laws made of diet," he ſaid, "what meats we "ſhall eat at all times. And this law is made in policy, as "I ſuppoſe, for victual's ſake, that fiſh might be uttered as Preaching againſt Lent. 207

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

"well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth so politicly, "we ought to keep it. Therefore all, except those that be "dispensed withal, as sick, impotent persons, women with "child, old folk, &c. ought to live in an ordinary obedience "to those laws, and not to do against the same in any wise."

Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme against Lent.

Gardiner urged the great inconvenience these rhymes against Lent might occasion: "That they could serve for "nothing but to learn the people to rail, and to make "others forbear to make their usual provisions of fish against "the ensuing year, fearing Lent to be sick, as the rhyme "purported, and like to die."

Latimer counsels the King about marriage.

About these times there arose much talk of the King's matching. The Protestants were much afraid of his marrying with some foreign princess abroad, that might turn his heart from religion. But the popishly affected did their endeavours to persuade him to please himself with some lady abroad, as best agreeable with politic ends, as the enlarging of his dominions, and the surety and defence of his countries. Some therefore put Latimer upon giving the King counsel in this matter from the pulpit. So he advised the King, "to choose him one that is of God, that is, "which is of the household of faith; and such an one "as the King can find in his heart to love, and lead his "life in pure and chaste espousage with. Let him choose a "wife that fears God. Let him not choose a proud wanton, "and one full only of rich treasures and worldly pomp."

Foreign protestants their offer to King Edward.

The sentiments of the protestant foreigners concerning the present English state deserves a particular remark. They took such great joy and satisfaction in this good King, and his establishment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches as there were in England, with the tender of their service to assist and unite together. This nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by some of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heretics, as they called them, would
208 now unite among themselves, and become one body, receiving the same discipline exercised in England. Which if it should happen, and that they should have heretical bishops

near them in thoſe parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were ſent two of their emiſſaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themſelves Anabaptiſts, and preach againſt baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And beſides this, one D. G. authorized by theſe learned men, diſpatched a letter written in May 1549, from Delf in Holland, to two biſhops, whereof Wincheſter was one, ſignifying the coming of theſe pretended Anabaptiſts, and that they ſhould receive them and cheriſh them, and take their parts, if they ſhould chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to aſſiſt in this cauſe, and to ſome others, whom they knew to be well affected to the mother-church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sydney firſt met with it in Queen Elizabeth's cloſet, among ſome papers of Queen Mary's. He tranſcribed it into a book of his, called, *The Romiſh Policies*. It came afterwards into the hands of Archbiſhop Uſher; and was tranſcribed thence by Sir James Ware. Let it be remembered here, and noted, that about this time Wincheſter was appointed, with Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, to examine certain Anabaptiſts in Kent.

CHAP. XV. Anno 1549.

Foxes and Firebrands, Part ii.

I find no biſhops conſecrated this year.

CHAP. XVI.

Ridley made Biſhop of London. The Communion Book reviewed.

RIDLEY, Biſhop of Rocheſter, was deſigned to ſucceed Boner, lately deprived, in the biſhopric of London; and, April 3, took his oath, an half year being almoſt ſpent before he entered upon the care of that ſee, after Boner's deprivation. At his entrance, he was exceeding wary not to do his predeceſſor the leaſt injury in goods that belonged to him. He had not one pennyworth of his moveable goods; for if any were found and known to be his, he had licence to convey them away, otherwiſe they were ſafely preſerved

Anno 1550.

Ridley made Biſhop of London.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

for him. There was some quantity of lead lay in the house, which he used about it and the church; but Ridley paid for it, as Boner's own officers knew. He continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place. He paid fifty-three or fifty-five pounds for Boner's own servants' common liveries and wages, which was Boner's own debt remaining unpaid after his deposition. He frequently sent for old Mrs. Boner, his predecessor's mother, calling her his mother, and caused her to sit in the uppermost seat at his own table; as also for his sister, one Mrs. Mongey. It was observed, how Ridley welcomed the old gentlewoman, and made as much of her as though she had been his own mother: and though sometimes the lords of the council dined with him, he would not let her be displaced, but would say, *By your Lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Boner.* But to see the base ingratitude of Boner; when he was restored again in Queen Mary's reign, he used Ridley far otherwise than Ridley had used him: for he would not allow the leases which Ridley had made, which was in danger to redound to the utter ruin and decay of many poor men. He had a sister with three children, whom he married to one Shipside, a servant of his, and provided for them. This sister Boner turned out of all, and endeavoured the destruction of Shipside, had not Bishop Hethe delivered him. Ridley, in his offices, and in an iron chest in his bed-chamber, had much plate, and considerable quantities of other goods; all which Boner seized upon: insomuch that Ridley, but a little before his burning, wrote a supplicatory letter to the Queen to take this into her consideration, "That the poor men might enjoy their leases, "and years renewed, for that they were made without fraud "or covin, either for their parts, or his; and the old rents "always reserved to the see, without any kind of damage "thereof: or at least, that they might be restored to their "former leases and years, and might have rendered to them "again such sums of money as they paid him and the "chapter, as fines for their leases and years taken from "them. Which fines he desired the Queen would com- "mand might be made good out of the plate and other "things he left in his house; half whereof would disburse

Ridley's letter, among the letters of the martyrs.

209

"thoſe fines." This did ſo much run in the good man's mind, that, at the time of his burning, he deſired the Lord Williams, then preſent, to remember this his ſuit to the Queen. Which he promiſed him he would do. But what effect it had I cannot tell.

Rocheſter vacant.

In the vacancy of the church of Rocheſter, by the remove of Ridley, the Archbiſhop committed the ſpiritualities to William Cook, LL. D. April 18.

Bucer writes to Dorſet, not to ſpoil the church.

The nobility and gentry this year flying ſo much upon the ſpoil of the church, Bucer, by the Archbiſhop's inſtigation, as well as his own inclinations, wrote to the Marquis of Dorſet to forbear, diſſuading him from ſpoiling the church of her maintenance. In which letter he hath theſe expreſſions: *Antiquum dictum eſt, neminem poſſe vere ditari fortis aut rapinis quibus invaduntur res alienæ; multo minus peculatu, quo defraudatur reſpublica. Quem igitur habeat ſenſum Dei, qui dubitet, minime omnium poſſe cujuſquam opes augeri ſalutariter ſacrilegiis, quibus acciduntur res eccleſiaſticæ? Sunt nimium amplæ hæ opes, addictæ eccleſiis; et in luxum permulti eas diripiunt. Homines plane otioſi; nec ullam reipublicæ conferentes utilitatem. Submoveantur igitur hi fuci ab eccleſiæ alvearibus, nec depaſci permittantur apum labores. Deinde procurentur, ut reſtitutis paſſim ſcholis nuſquam deſint eccleſiarum frugi miniſtri, &c.* That is, "It is "an old ſaying, no body can grow rich by the ſtealing and "taking away of private people's poſſeſſions; much leſs by "robbing of the public. What ſenſe therefore hath he of "God, that doubts not that his riches ſhall increaſe to good "purpoſe that commits ſacrilege, and robs the church of "what belongs to it? But it is objected, the church hath "too much, and many ſpend it in luxury: the churchmen "are idle, and bring no profit to the commonwealth. Let "theſe drones therefore be removed from the hives of the "church, but let not the pains of the bees be eaten up. "And then, having ſchools of good literature every where "reſtored, let not the church want ſober miniſters, &c."

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miſcellan. D.

210 The Common Prayer-Book reviewed.

A review was made of the book of Common Prayer, about the latter end of the year, by Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the biſhops. Divers things, that favoured too much of ſuperſtition, were endeavoured to be changed or amended:

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

but there were among them ſome that made what oppoſition they could. The Archbiſhop had now by Wilkes, Maſter of Chriſt's College, deſired Bucer (that great divine then at Cambridge) that he would take an impartial view of the whole book, having procured him a tranſlation of it into Latin, done by Aleſs, the learned Scotch divine, for his underſtanding of it; and that he ſhould judge, if he thought any thing in the book might be more explained agreeable with God's word, and for better edification of faith. Bucer in anſwer ſent the Archbiſhop word, firſt, what his judgment was of the book, and then what courſe he intended to uſe in the examination of it, that he was now to make. He ſaid, that when he firſt came into England, and by the help of an interpreter took ſome knowledge of the rites and doctrines of this church, that he might ſee whether he could join his miniſtry with it, he thanked God "that had inclined the officers of the church to reform the ceremonies "to that degree of purity; and that he found nothing in "them that was not taken out of the word of God, or at "leaſt was not repugnant to it, being fitly taken[h]. For "ſome few things there were," added he, "that, unleſs they "were candidly interpreted, might ſeem not ſo ſufficiently "agreeable with the word of God." As for what he was now to do in order to the fulfilling what the Archbiſhop required of him, he intended in ſhort notes, at every chapter of the book, to obſerve what he thought to be according to God's word, and to be retained and vindicated; what to be taken away or mended, and what to be more plainly explained and allowed. After his peruſal of the book, he gave this judgment in general: "That in the deſcripton of "the communion and daily prayers, he ſaw nothing enjoined in the book but what was agreeable to the word of "God, either in word, as the pſalms and leſſons; or in "ſenſe, as the collects. Alſo that the manner of their "leſſons and prayers, and the times of uſing them, were "conſtituted very agreeable both with God's word, and "the obſervation of the ancient churches: and therefore

[h] Nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi quod non ſit ex verbo Dei deſumptum, aut ſaltem ei non adverſetur, commode acceptum. *Buceri Scripta Anglican.*

"that that book ought to be retained and vindicated with the "greateſt ſtrictneſs[1]." What particular animadverſions the ſaid learned man made upon the book, may be ſeen in his *Scripta Anglicana*, and in the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory, as he hath there abridged them. And ſuch a deference was given to his judgment, that moſt of the things that he excepted againſt were corrected accordingly. And, that the book might be the more exact, and perhaps be the more agreeable to the doctrine and practice of foreign churches, the Archbiſhop recommended the diligent examination of it unto another great divine, Peter Martyr, who was now at Lambeth; the Archbiſhop deſiring him to note what he thought good concerning the book, and, becauſe he knew not the language, the verſion of Sir John Cheke (who had alſo tranſlated it into Latin) was given him. He was alſo requeſted to ſet down in writing what he thought deſerved correction. And he accordingly made his annotations.

CHAP. XVI. Anno 1550.

Martyr agreed clearly in judgment with Bucer about the book, as he wrote to him in a letter ſent him to Cambridge, extant among Archbiſhop Parker's manuſcripts. On the back-ſide of which letter is written, by that Archbiſhop's own hand, *Cenſura libri communium precum.* In this letter Martyr told Bucer, that the ſame things that he diſapproved of, the ſame likewiſe had he [Peter Martyr] done: and that afterward he drew them up into articles, and ſhewed them to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. That to all that Bucer judged ought to be amended, he had ſubſcribed; and that he thanked God, that had given occaſion to admoniſh the biſhops of theſe things. From this letter it appears, that the Archbiſhop had told Martyr, that, in the conference among the divines concerning the correction of theſe public prayers, it was concluded to make many alterations. But what thoſe things were, as the Archbiſhop told him not, ſo neither, as he wrote, did he dare to aſk him. But what Cheke told him did not a little refreſh him; *viz.* "That if "they themſelves would not change what ought to be

211 Bucer and Martyr employed in it. MSS. C.C.C.C. vol. intit. Epiſt. Viror. Illuſtr. et German.

[1] Modus quoque harum lectionum ac precum, et tempora, ſunt admodum congruenter, et cum verbo Dei, et obſervatione priſcarum eccleſiarum conſtituta. Religione igitur ſumma retinenda erit, et vindicanda hæc ceremonia. *Cenſura, inter Scripta Anglican.*

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"changed, the King would do it of himſelf; and, when they "came to a parliament, the King would interpoſe his Ma- "jeſty's own authority."

CHAP. XVII.

Hoper's Troubles.

Hoper nominated for Biſhop of Glouceſter.

IN the month of July John Hoper, who had lived long abroad in Germany and in Switzerland, and converſed much with Bullinger and Gualter, the chief reformers there, but returned into England in King Edward's reign, and retained by the Duke of Somerſet, and a famous preacher in the city, was nominated by the King to the biſhopric of Glouceſter. But by reaſon of certain ſcruples of conſcience he made to the wearing of the old pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet, and ſuch-like, and diſliking the oath cuſtomarily taken, he was not conſecrated till eight months after, and endured not a little trouble in the mean ſeaſon. Soon after his nomination he repaired to the Archbiſhop, deſiring him in theſe things to diſpenſe with him: but the Archbiſhop, for certain reaſons, refuſed it. Then was the Archbiſhop ſolicited by great men. The Earl of Warwick, afterwards the great Duke of Northumberland, wrote to him a letter, dated July 23, the bearer whereof was Hoper himſelf, that the rather at his inſtance he would not charge the Biſhop elect of Glouceſter with an oath burdenous to his conſcience. Which was, I ſuppoſe, the oath of canonical obedience. And when Hoper had ſued to the King, either to diſcharge him of the biſhopric, or that he might be diſpenſed with in the ceremonies uſed in conſecration, (which he knew the Archbiſhop could not do, no more than to diſpenſe with the laws of the land, whereby he ſhould run into a *præmunire*,) the King wrote a letter to Cranmer, dated Auguſt 5, therein freeing him of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures that he might incur by omitting thoſe rites; but yet (by any thing that appears in the letter) without any

212 urging or perſuaſion uſed to the Archbiſhop to omit the

ſaid rites, leaving that to his own diſcretion. But the Archbiſhop thought the King's bare letters were not ſufficient to ſecure him againſt eſtabliſhed laws.

He and Ridley confer about the habits.

When this would not do, then endeavour was uſed to ſatisfy Hoper's conſcience. And Ridley, Biſhop now of London, was thought, for his great learning, to be a fit perſon to confer with him. There were long arguings between them, and at laſt it came to ſome heats. And Hoper ſtill remained reſolved not to comply, holding it, if not unlawful, yet highly inexpedient, to uſe thoſe very veſtments that the papal biſhops uſed. The council upon this ſent for Hoper, and, becauſe they would in no wiſe the ſtirring up of controverſies between men of one profeſſion, willed him to ceaſe the occaſion hereof. Hoper humbly beſought them, that, for declaration of his doings, he might put in writing ſuch arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held. Which was granted him. Theſe arguments it ſeems were communicated to Ridley to anſwer. And October the 6th, the council being then at Richmond, the Archbiſhop preſent, they wrote to the Biſhop of London, commanding him to be at court on Sunday next, and to bring with him what he ſhould for anſwer think convenient.

MS. of the Council Book.

The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter.

In the mean time, to bring the queſtion to more evidence and ſatisfaction, the Archbiſhop, according to his cuſtom, to conſult in religious matters with the learneſt men of other nations, wrote to Cambridge to Martin Bucer for his judgment: who, upon occaſion of this controverſy, wrote two Epiſtles; one to Hoper, and another to the Archbiſhop, both *de re veſtiaria*. That to the latter was in anſwer to theſe two queries, which Cranmer had ſent for his reſolution about.

The queſtions.

"I. Whether, without offending of God, the miniſters "of the church of England may uſe thoſe garments which "are now uſed, and preſcribed to be uſed by the magiſ- "trates?"

"II. Whether he that affirms it unlawful, or refuſeth to "uſe theſe garments, ſinneth againſt God, becauſe he ſaith "that is unclean which God hath ſanctified; and againſt "the magiſtrate, who commandeth a political order?"

Bucer to both theſe queſtions gave his reſolution in the

BOOK II. Anno 1550. Script. Anglic. p. 705. et 681.

affirmative, in his answer to the Archbishop, dated December 8. But he thought, considering how the habits had been occasion to some of superstition, and to others of contention, that it were better, at some good opportunity, wholly to take them away.

Martyr writes to Hoper.

Besides Bucer's letter to Hoper from Cambridge, mentioned before, Peter Martyr from Oxon wrote him a large letter, dated November 4: for both these good men were desirous that Hoper should have satisfaction, that so useful a man might come in place in the church. To both these Hoper had wrote, and sent his arguments against the episcopal vestments, by a messenger dispatched on purpose. Martyr told him, "That he took much delight in that "singular and ardent study that appeared in him, that "christian religion might again aspire to a chaste and pure "simplicity. That for his part he could be very hardly "brought off from that simple and pure way, which he "knew they used a great while at Strasburgh, where the "difference of garments in holy things was taken away. "And so he prayed God it might continue." Thus, he said, "Hoper might see that, in the sum, they both agreed "together; he wishing for that which Hoper endeavoured. "That in rites, he was for coming as near as possible to the "sacred Scripture, and for taking pattern by the better "times of the church: but yet that he could not be brought "by his arguments to think that the use of garments was "destructive, or in their own nature contrary, to the word "of God; a matter which he thought to be altogether "ἀδιάφορον. And that therefore indifferent things, as they "were sometimes to be taken away, so might be used: "and that if he had thought this were wicked, he would "never have communicated with the church of England. "That there might be some great good follow from the "use at present of the garments; namely, that if we suf-"fered the Gospel to be first preached, and well rooted, "men would afterwards better and more easily be persuad-"ed to let go these outward customs. But now, when a "change is brought in of the necessary heads of religion, "and that with so great difficulty, if we should make those "things that are indifferent to be impious, so we might

Inter P. Mart. Epist. 213

"alienate the minds of all; that they would not endure "to hear solid doctrine, and receive the necessary cere- "monies. That there was no doubt England owed much "to him for his great pains in preaching and teaching: "and, in return, he had gained much favour and authority "in the realm, whereby he was in a capacity of doing "much good to the glory of God. Only he bad Hoper "take heed, that by unseasonable and too bitter sermons "he became not an hindrance to himself. Besides, that by "looking upon these indifferent things as sinful and de- "structive, we should condemn many Gospel-churches, and "too sharply tax very many, which anciently were esteemed "most famous and celebrated."

Hoper's two objections.

And whereas there were two arguments that made Hoper ready to charge the use of these vestments to be not indifferent; he proceeded to consider them. One was this; "That this would be to call back again the priesthood of "Aaron. The other, that they were inventions of An- "tichrist; and that we ought to be estranged, not only from "the Pope, but from all his devices."

Considered.

But as to the former he shewed him, "That the Apostles, "for peace-sake, commanded the Gentiles to abstain from "blood and fornication; which were Aaronical customs: "and so are tithes for the maintenance of the clergy. "Psalms and hymns can scarce be shewn to be commanded "in the New Testament to be sung in public assemblies, "which are very manifest to be used in the Old. That "there are not a few things that our church hath borrowed "from the Mosaical decrees; and that even from the very "first times. The festivals of the Resurrection, of the Na- "tivity, of Pentecost, and of the Death of Christ, are all "footsteps of the old law: and are they to be therefore "abolished? He wished with all his heart that the churches "in Germany by this one loss might obtain their former "liberty."

As to the second argument, "He could not see how it "could be asserted upon good grounds, that nothing is to "be used by us that is observed in the popish religion. 214 "We must take heed that the church of God be not "pressed with too much servitude, that it may not have

2735